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ABSTRACT

The publication describes 30 college courses on peace and world order. The purpose is to provide a shared conception of the substantive concerns of peace studies, of the methodological tools available for peace research, and of the potential role of peace education in the formation of a more normative social science worldview. Courses described treat one of the following seven topics: (1) Conflict, Revolution, and Peace; (2) World Order; (3) World Politics; (4) The Third World: Perspectives on Development and Justice; (5) Looking Toward the Future; (6) Social Criticism and Individual Change; and (7) the United States Context. Bibliographies of resource materials are included with each course description. (Author/RM)

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PEACE STUDIES

College Courses on Peace and World Order

Edited by

Charles R. Beitz
A. Michael Washburn
Thomas G. Weiss

Institute for World Order/University Program

New York

May, 1973

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Institute for World Order
University Program
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INTRODUCTION

The field of peace studies has undergone explosive growth in the past five years. There are probably more than three hundred campuses where one or more courses in the field are available, and more than sixty operational peace studies programs at the undergraduate level. The Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) was organized just three years ago, but now includes more than seventy-five institutional (university and foundation) members as well as hundreds of individuals.

While peace education as a problem-centered field of study is not at all new (the first program on peace studies was organized at Manchester College in 1948), the proliferation of peace-oriented curriculum offerings has been a consequence of concerns brought to the forefront of academic life by the Vietnam War. As peace education activity mushroomed, its spontaneous sense of political and educational purpose seemed for a time to make up for a frequent lack of coherence and discipline. Now that concern for the war is waning with reductions in American force levels in Indochina, peace educators must remedy many of the conceptual and methodological problems in peace research and peace studies to transcend academic faddism and the inertia of established disciplines.

What is needed is a shared conception of the substantive concerns of peace studies, of the methodological tools available for peace research, and of the potential role of peace education in the formation of a more normative social science worldview. Such a conception cannot be formulated without a critical analysis of the extent and quality of current teaching about peace and world order, and a keen awareness of the failures and inadequacies of the peace studies movement.

This collection began as an effort by the Institute for World Order University Program to provide information for this purpose. We attempted to collect syllabi from as many concerned teachers as possible, and to publish several as a resource for teachers and students who are formulating their own courses, and as a kind of map of current college teaching about peace-related subjects. The response to our requests for course outlines reflects the energy and activity in the field. Within the last year we have received more than 400 course outlines, syllabi and bibliographies which resulted in an initial volume and now a second expanded one. We are able to reprint only a small percentage of these in this second volume, and inevitably many interesting and potentially useful syllabi had to be omitted.

The course outlines included in this collection are divided into seven general categories. All of these are essential parts of the subject matter of peace studies, and ideally any peace and world order studies program would include learning possibilities in all of these areas. The syllabi reprinted here were selected for one or more of the following reasons: a) they represent an area of teaching in which our experience indicates there is a general demand for peace-oriented model syllabi; b) they provide extensive bibliographical citations; c) they illustrate innovative and interesting ways of presenting relevant subject matter; d) they show the breadth and boundaries of

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peace education.

Despite our efforts to solicit course outlines from the entire spectrum of those courses relevant to peace and world order studies, several crucial omissions are still present:

a) strategies for global and national social change;
b) human rights and repression throughout the world;
c) the importance of values and techniques in value clarification;
d) radical critiques of peace research and education;
e) insufficient input from non-North American instructors.

Undoubtedly there are already courses offered in some of these areas on some American campuses, and in these cases the responsibility for their not appearing here is probably ours. The Institute for World Order will continue to gather syllabi and supplement the present revised collection with still another volume if we receive applicable syllabi for courses dealing with these subjects or more innovative ones in the areas already included.

Finally, we want to acknowledge the help of some four hundred teachers who responded to our requests, and especially the cooperation of those whose courses are reprinted here. Although these syllabi have been edited in minor ways to save space and maintain a uniformly clear format, it is to their authors that we owe thanks for whatever insights their courses suggest.

This collection will have served its purpose if the creative imagination displayed by these courses helps to stimulate others to devote more of their academic energy to teaching and learning about the problems of peace and world order. We will be grateful for any constructive criticisms for revision of this collection that its use suggests.

CRB, AMW, TGW
New York City
May, 1973

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PROBLEMS OF WAR AND PEACE
(University Studies 211)

Team-taught
Spring 1972

Peace Studies Program
Colgate University
Hamilton, New York

1. Class Meetings. Class meets for a double period on Tuesdays and Thursdays, offering a chance for all sections and instructors to join together at least once each week for visual presentation, panels, and lectures in order to set off discussion. Smaller section meetings will provide occasions to dig into points made in both the lectures and readings. We urge you to make the most of such chances to learn.

2. Student Output. As part of the learning process each member of the class is to produce some project in writing or in other form that reveals a knowledge of things learned in the course. Possible writings would be a research paper on a single idea, four shorter position papers, a piece of original literature, or a regularly maintained journal. Poems and graphics in the Manual will show you what others have produced to express their ideas on war and peace.

3. Reading Materials. Most of the readings for this course have been mimeographed for your use and bound in a Book of Readings** available at the bookstore. Other materials assigned are listed below:

Sohn, Louis B. THE UNITED NATIONS: THE NEXT TWENTY-FIVE YEARS (Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 1969).
Rosenberg, Verba, and Converse. VIETNAM AND THE SILENT MAJORITY: THE DOVE'S GUIDE (Harper and Row, 1970).
Reprints:
Clark and Sohn. INTRODUCTION TO WORLD PEACE THROUGH WORLD LAW (Harvard, 1966).
Stone, Jeremy J. "When and How to Use Salt," Foreign Affairs 48.2 (January 1970), 262-273.
Brown, Sam. "On the Politics of Peace," The Washington Monthly (August 1970).

4. Reading Assignments.

February

4 First Class Meeting

**A revised version of these readings is available in paperback form: Charles Beitz and Theodore Herman (eds.), Peace and War, San Francisco, W.H. Freeman and Co., 1973.

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February

The Morality of War

8 Potter in READINGS, "The Moral Logic of War"
10 Horsburgh in READINGS, "Critique of Armed Force"
15 Film: "The Battle of Algiers"
Dedijer in READINGS, "Guerrilla Warfare: The Poor Man's Power"

Deterrence and Defense

17 Schelling in READINGS, "The Diplomacy of Violance"
22 McNamara in READINGS, "Mutual Deterrence"
Meier in READINGS, "On the Origins of the Cold War"
24 Rostow, W.W., in READINGS, "The Great Transition: Tasks of the First and Second Generations"
Barnet in READINGS, "The Illusion of Security"

Nonviolent Defense

26 Sharp in READINGS, "National Defense Without Armaments"
Schelling in READINGS, "Some Questions on Civilian Defense"
29 Gandhi in READINGS, "Non-Violence"
Horsburgh in READINGS, "The Basis of Satyagraha"
Shridaharani in READINGS, "How Is It Done?"

March

2 Deming in READINGS, "Pacifism" and "Non-Violence and Casualties"
Lund in READINGS, "Pacifism Under the Occupation"
In READINGS, "What To Do Until the Revolution Comes"

Human Nature and War

7 Scott in READINGS, "That Old Time Aggression"
Mead in READINGS, "Warfare Is Only An Invention"
Thompson in READINGS, "How Could Vietnam Happen?"

9 EXAMINATION

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March

Paths to World Peace and Some Obstacles

14 Reardon and Mendlovitz in READINGS, "World Law and Models of World Order"
Baldwin in READINGS, "Thinking About a New World Order for the Decade 1990"
16 Falk in READINGS, "An Endangered Planet"
21 United Nations Charter in READINGS
Clark and Sohn, WORLD PEACE THROUGH WORLD LAW, pp. xv-liv
23 W/P Report, articles on the UN in READINGS
INS Briefing
25 Inter-Nation Simulation (game)
28 Claude in READINGS, "On World Government"

April

11 Herz in READINGS, "The Territorial State Revisited"
13 Sohn, THE UN: THE NEXT TWENTY-FIVE YEARS
18 UN in READINGS, "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights"
Wright in READINGS, "Concepts of Foreign Policy"
20 Falk in READINGS, "Designing a New World Order System"
25 Stone in REPRINTS, "When and How to Use Salt"
York in READINGS, "A Little Arms Control Can Be a Dangerous Thing"
27 Shoup in READINGS, "The New American Militarism"
Galbraith in READINGS, "Controlling the Military"
Benoit in READINGS, "Economic Consequences of Disarmament"

Social Change and Individual Action

May

2 Ferber and Harris in READINGS, "On the Resistance"
Bianchi in READINGS, "A Jubilee Year for Peace"
4 Brown in REPRINTS, "The Politics of Peace"
9 THE DOVE'S GUIDE

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HISTORY AND THEORY OF NONVIOLENCE
(Sociology 56b)

Paul Wehr
Spring 1972

Center for Nonviolent
Conflict Resolution
Haverford College
Haverford, Pa.

January 18 — Introductory Session

Origins in the American Experience

January 25 — Early Pacifism

Peter Brock, Pacifism in the United States, chaps. 2, 3, 5
Staughton Lynd, Nonviolence in America, Introduction, Part I: 4 Part IV: 13
*Carl Rogers, Freedom to Learn, Prologue, Part I: 1, 2 Part II: 4 Part IV: 13, 14

February 1 — Civil Disobedience & Social Justice

Lynd, Part I: 2,3 Part II: 5,6,7,9 Part IV: 15
Leo Tolstoy, On Civil Disobedience and Nonviolence (reserve)
Satyagraha: Peaceful Change Through Nonviolence

February 8 — Gandhi: The Man and the Innovator

M. K. Gandhi, An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth
Erik Erikson, Gandhi's Truth, Part Two, Part Three (Chaps. I, II, III)
Horace Alexander, Gandhi Remembered

February 15 — The Gandhian Dialectic: Creative Conflict

Joan Bondurant, Conquest of Violence, all except Chaps. IV and V

*Denotes optional reading

CONTEMPORARY NONVIOLENT MOVEMENTS

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February 22 — Nonviolence and Equal Rights

Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom
Lynd, Part IX
Journal, November-December, 1970 (reserve)
*Paul Wehr, "Nonviolence and Differentiation in the Equal Rights Movement", Sociological Inquiry, Vol 38, 1968 (reserve)
Journal, "The Servant-Leader: A New Life Style" (reserve)

February 29 — Conscientious Objection - National and International

Lynd, Parts V and VII
*Charles Chatfield, For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America 1914-51.

March 7 — The Anti-War Movement

Lynd and Ferber, The Resistance.
Francine Gray, Divine Disobedience, section on the Berrigans.
*Thorne and Butler, The New Soldier.

March 21 — Nonviolence and Self-Determination: Culebra

Charles Walker, "On Culebra: Nonviolent Action and the U.S. Navy". Peace News, August 27, 1971 (reserve)
Robert Swann, "Culebra: Island Besieged", The Nation, March 1, 1971 (reserve)
Shepherd Bliss, "Culebran Protest", Christian Century, February 24, 1971. (reserve)

March 28 — Nonviolence and Rural Development: The Dolci Experiment

Danilo Dolci, Man Who Plays Alone.
Jerre Mangione, A Passion for Sicilians (reserve)

April 4 — International Control of Violence

"A Question of Choice"(International Peace Academy Helsinki Conference) (reserve)
A. James, The Politics of Peacekeeping.
P. Frydenburg et al., The Oslo Papers: Peacekeeping, Experience and Evaluation.

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April 11 — Nonviolent National Defense

Adam Roberts (ed) Civilian Resistance as National Defense, Part Three (10, 11) (reserve)
Winsor and Roberts, Czechoslovakia 1968, section by Roberts on "Invasion and Resistance."
Paul Wehr, "Resistance Communication Under Military Occupation: The Norwegian Experience." (reserve)

Toward A Nonviolent Society

April 18 — Nonviolence as a Transnational Life Style

George Lakey, Strategy for a Living Revolution. (reserve)
(Visit to Life Center)

April 25 — The Individual and Nonviolent Socialization
(Course Evaluations Due)

Elise Boulding, "Socialization Sequences and Student Attitudes Towards Non-Violent Change." (reserve)

U.S. Office of Education, "An Examination of Objectives, Needs and Priorities in International Education in U.S. Secondary and Elementary Schools." (reserve)

Books to be Purchased (in order of use)

Carter, Hoggett and Roberts, Nonviolent Action: A Selected Bibliography (Housmans, London).
Staughton Lynd, Nonviolence in America (Bobbs-Merrill).
M. K. Gandhi, An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth (Beacon).
Joan Bondurant, Conquest of Violence (U. of California).
Martin Luther King, Jr., Stride Toward Freedom (Ballantine).
Lynd and Ferber, The Resistance (Beacon).
Winsor and Roberts, Czechoslovakia 1968: Reform, Repression, Resistance (Columbia U.)

Other Literature Relevant to the Course

Gene Sharp, Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives (Porter-Sargent)
Hare and Blumberg, Nonviolent Direct Action (Corpus)
M.K. Gandhi, Nonviolent Resistance (Schocken)
Mulford Sibley, The Quiet Battle (Anchor)
Peter Mayer (ed.), The Pacifist Conscience (Penguin)
Hofstadter and Wallace (eds.), American Violence: A Documentary History (Knopf)
Lakey and Oppenheimer, Manual for Direct Action (Quadrangle)

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WAR
(Social Science 112)

Stanley Hoffmann
Fall and Spring, 1970-1

Department of Social Sciences
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

FALL TERM: WAR IN HISTORY

Part One: Why War?

A. War and social thought
B. The lessons of primitive war
C. The search for causes

Part Two: War and Society

A. War and the international order
B. War and the domestic order
C. War and the individual

SPRING TERM: WAR IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

Part One: From Past to Present

A. "Neither peace nor war": the international system
B. Society and the military: internal war and military peace
C. The control of force

Part Two: From Present to Future

A. Political prospects
B. Ethical choices
C. Social science and war

* * * * * * * * * *

FALL TERM: WAR IN HISTORY

I. Why War?

A. War and Social Thought

Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State and War.
Hobbes, Leviathan, ch. 1-6, 13-19.
Montesquieu, Spirit of the Laws, Books I, IX, X.
Stanley Hoffmann, The State of War, ch. 3.
Kant (Modern Library; C. J. Friedrich, ed.) Idea for a Universal History (116ff.) and Eternal Peace (430ff.).
Hegel (Modern Library; C. J. Friedrich, ed.) from the Philosophy of Right, 320-329.

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B. The Lessons of Primitive War

C. The Search for Causes

1. Biology: Animal Warfare and Darwinian Mythology

2. Psychology

a. Individual Psychology: Human Drives and War
b. Social Psychology: National Character

3. Material Factors

a. The Use and Abuse of Geography
b. Demography
c. Economics and the Problem of Imperialism

4. Politics

a. Domestic Politics: Regimes and Ideologies
b. International Politics: Nations in the State of Nature

Konrad Lorenz, On Agression.
Herbert Kelman, International Behavior, ch. 3, 10, 16.
Raymond Aron, Peace and War, Part II.
P. Renouvin and J. B. Duroselle, Introduction to the History of International Relations, Part I.
Leon Bramson and George Goethals (eds.), War, 21-43, 133-146, 159-194, 205-308, 322-336.
Freud, Character and Culture, ch. IX, X.
Lenin, Imperialism.
Schumpeter, Imperialism and Social Classes, 3-98.

II. War and Society

A. War and the International Order

1. War and International Systems

a. Types and Functions of Wars
b. The Quest for Restraints

2. War and Foreign Policy

a. Ends and Means
b. Strategy

Aron, Part I.
Renouvin and Duroselle, Part II.
Thucydides, Peloponnesian War, Books I, II, V (ch. XVII).
David Thomson, Europe Since Napoleon, Part I, II (ch. 5, 8, 11-12, 14), VI (ch. 19-20), VII.

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Sidney Fay, The Origins of the World War, Vol. I (Ch. I, IV-V), Vol. II (ch. III-XII).
Arno Mayer, Wilson vs. Lenin, 1-58, 141-241, 293-393.
J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, Munich.
Churchill, The Gathering Storm, Book I.
John Snell, Illusion and Necessity.
Sherwood, Roosevelt and Hopkins, Vol. I (Part II), Vol. II.
Stanley Hoffmann (ed.), Contemporary Theory in International Relations, 1-11, 54-90, 171-190.
____, The State of War, ch. 1-2, 4-5.
I. L. Claude, Power and International Relations, ch. 3-4.
Arnold Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration, ch. 5-6.
Paul Seabury (ed.), Balance of Power, 4-9, 11-16.
Clausewitz, On War, Vol. I, Book I, ch. I-III and Vol. III, Sketches for Book VIII.
E. M. Earle (ed.), Makers of Modern Strategy, ch. 1, 7-8, 12-15, 17, 20.

B. War and the Domestic Order

1. The Military Establishment: Civil-Military Relations

2. Societies in War: The Mobilization of Resources and Minds

Bransom and Goethals (eds.), 309-319, 337-349.
Alfred Vagts, A History of Militarism (rev. ed.).
Samuel Huntington, The Soldier and the State, Part I and Part III, ch. 12.

C. War and the Individual

Tolstoy, War and Peace
Jean Giraudoux, Tiger at the Gates (La Guerre de Troie N'Aura Pas Lieu),
Andre Malraux, Man's Hope (L'Espoir).
George Orwell, Homage to Catalonia.
Stanley Hoffmann, The State of War, ch. 9.

SPRING TERM: WAR IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

From Past to Present

A. "Neither Peace Nor War": The International System

1. The New System

a. Genesis
b. Elements
c. Relations: The Rules of the Game

Alastair Buchan, War in Modern Society
Raymond Aron, Peace and War, Part 3.
Stanley Hoffmann, Gulliver's Troubles, Part 1.

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Robert Osgood and Robert Tucker, Force, Order, and Justice, Part 1.
Walter LaFeber, America, Russia, and the Cold War.
George Kennan, Memoirs, ch. 9-15, and Annexes.
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Origins of the Cold War," Foreign Affairs, October 1967.
William A. Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy, ch. 6.
Adam Ulam, Expansion and Coexistence ch. VIII-IX.
Thomas Schelling, Arms and Influence, ch. 1-3.
Theodore Sorensen, Kennedy, ch. XXIV.
Graham Allison, "Conceptual Models and the Cuban Missile Crisis," American Political Science Review, September 1969, pp. 689-718.

2. Policies and Strategy

a. The Superpowers
b. The Challengers

Raymond Aron, The Great Debate, ch. 1-2, 6-7.
Henry Kissinger (ed.), Problems of National Strategy, 1-3.
Hans Morgenthau, A New Foreign Policy for the U. S., ch. 2-3.
Richard Neustadt, Alliance Politics.
Henry Kissinger, American Foreign Policy, ch. 1.
Stanley Hoffmann, The State of War, ch. 8.
Stanley Hoffmann, Gulliver's Troubles, Parts 2-3 and ch. 11.
William Griffith, The Sino-Soviet Rift, Documents 1, 4-8, 17-22, 30.

B. Society and the Military: Internal War and Military Peace

1. Revolutionary War

a. "Internal" War
b. "Unconventional" War

2. The Military in Troubled Peace-time

a. The Military Establishment
b. The Nightmare of the Garrison State

Henry Kissinger (ed.), Problems of National Strategy, 16-17, 25.
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., A Thousand Days, X-XI.
George Kelly, Lost Soldiers, Parts 3 to 6.
Richard Pfeffer (ed.), No More Vietnams?
Henry Kissinger, American Foreign Policy, ch. 3.
S. B. Griffith (ed.), Mao Tse Tung on Guerrilla Warfare.
Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, ch. 1-3.
Regis Debray, Revolution in the Revolution?
Samuel P. Huntington (ed.), Changing Patterns of Military Politics, ch. I-II.

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Hans Morgenthau, A New Foreign Policy for the U. S., ch. 5.
Abraham Lowenthal, "The Dominican intervention in retrospect," Public Policy, Fall 1969, pp. 133-148.
Dankwart Rustow, A World of Nations, ch. VI.
Herbert York, Race to Oblivion.
Robert Gilpin, American Scientists and Nuclear Weapons Policy, ch. 1-3, 9-10.
Alfred Wohlstetter, "Scientists, Seers, and Strategy," Foreign Affairs, April 1963.
Richard Barnet, The Economy of Death.

C. The Control of Force

1. Taming the Actors

a. International Law in the Nuclear Age
b. International Organization in a World of Nations

2. Taming the Weapons

a. Disarmament
b. Arms Control

Louis Henkin, How Nations Behave, Parts 1, 2, and 4: ch. XIII-XIV and XVI.
Karl Deutsch and Stanley Hoffmann (eds.), The Relevance of International Law, ch. by Hoffmann and Deutsch.
I. L. Claude, Power and International Relations, ch. 5.
I. L. Claude, The Changing United Nations
or
John Stoessinger, The United Nations and the Superpowers.
Hedley Bull, The Control of the Arms Race (revised ed.).
Stanley Hoffmann, The State of War, ch. 6.
Stanley Hoffmann (ed.), Conditions of World Order, pp. 110-63 (also in Daedalus, Summer 1968, pp. 862-915).

II. From Present to Future

A. Political Prospects

1. Trends: Moderation or Chaos

2. The Quest for Solutions

B. Ethical Choices

1. Ethics and International Politics

2. Just War Revisited

C. Social Science and War

Raymond Aron, Peace and War, Part 4.
Stanley Hoffmann, Gulliver's Troubles, ch. 10, 12.
Alastair Buchan (ed.), A World of Nuclear Powers?, Introduction, ch. 1-3.
I. L. Claude, Power and International Relations, ch. 6-8.
Stanley Hoffmann, "International Organization and the International System," International Organization, Summer 1970, pp. 391-413.
Pierre Hassner, "The Nation-State in the Nuclear Age," Survey, April 1968., pp. 3-27.
Hans Morgenthau, A New Foreign Policy for the U. S., ch. 8.
Robert Osgood and Robert Tucker, Force, Order, and Justice, Part Two.
John C. Bennett (ed.), Nuclear Weapons and the Conflict of Conscience, pp. 15-38, 67-170.
William O'Brien, War and/or Survival, ch. I-III, V, IX.
Erik Erikson, Gandhi's Truth, Prologue, Part 3: IV-V and Part 4 and Epilogue.
Robert J. Lifton, Death in Life, I-II, XII.
Adam Roberts (ed.), Civilian Resistance as a National Defense, ch. 4, 9, 10, 12, 14.
Albert Camus, Resistance, Rebellion and Death
or
J. P. Sartre, The Condemned of Altona.

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PROBLEMS OF ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT

Interdisciplinary Effort
Winter 1973

Institute of Political Studies
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Course Description

Problems of Arms Control and Disarmament deals with a wide spectrum of issues relating to weapons and their control. The spectrum ranges from technical questions concerning weapons' capabilities to questions on the exploitation of political advantages derived from possession of specific types of weaponry, from historical questions pertaining to the origin and resolution of conflicts between states to those regarding the right of states to defend themselves by any nationally determined means.

More fundamental problems concerning the responsibility of scientists, the relationship between science and policy, and the relevance of war-making to the economic well-being of all societies will also be raised in this course. Dealing with the control of weapons involves values and morals, and it requires knowledge of complex matters of fact. These and many more concerns have led us to offer this two-quarter course.

The agreements concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union in May 1972 limiting the deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems and freezing the types and numbers of strategic offensive weapons illustrate many of these issues. What constraints to the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) were posed by past United States-Soviet Union relations? How were these impediments overcome? What was the impact of ongoing changes in the military balance between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. on the SALT negotiations? How has the possession of nuclear weapons aided or hindered the U. S. and the Soviet Union in the execution of their foreign policies, and what effect will the SALT agreements of May 1972 (SALT I) have on their future foreign policies?

Taking these agreements as an early point of departure in the course, we will be asking questions about future agreements (sometimes called SALT II), such as the following: What obstacles remain to be overcome in reaching a comprehensive agreement banning all nuclear tests? What is the future of agreements to limit the spread of nuclear weapons now that the Chinese have developed and deployed intermediate-range ballistic missiles capable of striking most of Asia? What further measures need to be taken before agreements to halt the flow of sophisticated arms from the "advanced" nations to the "underdeveloped" nations can be reached?

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All of the staff have had practical and research experience in dealing with matters of arms control and disarmament, and many have participated in the public debate on ABM, MIRV, chemical and biological warfare, etc. Nevertheless, we will draw on additional talent as the opportuiity presents itself. As the list of faculty participants makes clear, the staff for the course brings together historians, physicists, lawyers, a geneticist, engineers, political scientists, and a professor of business administration. Although each field has its own language, intellectual traditions, and biases, we hope to present an integrated, multi-faceted understanding of problems of arms control and disarmement.

A great deal of thought has gone into the selection of readings. We have tried to keep the number of books to be purchased as small as possible. The required readings for each unit are meant to complement the lectures. In making the selections we have sought to combine more general writings with arms control documents of historical merit and carefully selected technical statements. Special attention should be paid to the Stanford Arms Control Textbook. This manuscript is based on material presented in previous arms control courses. Your criticisms, comments, and suggestions will help us modify the text before final publication. Students should complete the required reading along with the lectures in each unit and should seek clarification of any problems with respect to the readings in the discussion sections.

We should also draw attention to the special media features of the Skilling classroom. The room was chosen deliberately to make possible the televising of the lectures, the presentation of special visual materials, and the electronic link-up to allow two-way TV communications. It is our hope that by televising the course its reach will be significantly expanded.

Course Outline

I. Introduction to the Course

1. Introduction to arms control
2. Historical attempts in the control of interstate conflict
3. The military establishment and society: historical considerations
4. Science, politics, and diplomacy
5. The military establishment & society: conditions and prospects

Required Reading:

1. Craig, Gordon A., and Peter Paret, "The Control of International Violence: Some Historical Notes," Stanford Journal of International Studies: Arms Control, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 1-21.
2. Roberts, Chalmers, The Nuclear Years. New York: Praeger, 1970.
3. Stanford Arms Control Textbook, Chapter 1.

II. From the Cold War to SALT I

6. Technological development and the state of weapons development, 1945-1973 (strategic)
7. The evolution of Cold War strategies: collective security, containment, massive retaliation and deterrence

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8. Disarmament negotiations in post-war U. S.-Soviet relations: I (the immediate post-war situation to the Cuban Missile Crisis)
9. Disarmement negotiations in post-war U. S.-Soviet relations: II (the Cuban Missile Crisis through the Johnson years)
10. The emerging multipolarities and alternative strategies for security: an assessment of the Nixon-Kissinger strategy

Required Reading:

1. Stanford Arms Control Textbook, Chapter 2.
2. Texts of the following Treaties in U. S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Arms Control Agreements, 1959-1972: Limited Test Ban Treaty, pp. 14-23; Non-Proliferation Treaty, pp. 64-76; Seabed Arms Control Treaty, pp. 77-87; Biological Weapons Convention, pp. 98-107..
3. York, Herbert F., Race to Oblivion, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970.
4. Medalia, Jonathan E., "Problems in Formulating and Implementing Effective Arms Control Policy: The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Case," Stanford Journal of International Studies: Arms Control, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 132-161.

III. Present-Day Problems in Arms Control: SALT II

11. Technical problems and the interlocking of defense and offense
12. New problems in verification and control: their implications for a "qualitative" arms race (ABM, MIRV, etc.)
13. The R&D process: its effects on controls and its relationship to arms agreements
14. Ambiguous aspects of control: the peaceful uses of nuclear energy
15. Disarmement negotiations in post-war U. S.-Soviet relations: III (SALT)
16. Strategic arms negotiations--SALT II

Required Reading:

1. "Strategic Forum: The SALT Agreements," Survival, Vol. 14, No. 5 (September/October 1972), with Herbert Scoville, Jr., Yu Kulish, Pierre Gallois, and Donald Brennan.
2. Feld, Bernard T., "The Trouble with SALT," Saturday Review: Science, Vol. 55, No. 44 (November 1972), pp. 54-57.
3. "SALT ABM Treaty," and "SALT Interim Agreement," in U. S. Arms Control and Disarment Agency, Arms Control and Disarmenent Agreements, 1959-1972. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1972.
4. Kahan, Jerome H., "Limited Agreements and Long Term Stability: A Positive View toward SALT," Stanford Journal of International Studies: Arms Control, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 64-86.
5. Brenner, Michael, "The Theorist as Actor, the Actor as Theorist: Strategy in the Nixon Administration," Stanford Journal of International Studies: Arms Control, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 109-131.

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IV. "SALT in World" and the Changing Foci of Arms Control

17. National priorities: military planning and the changing market for military equipment: I (force planning, budget surpluses and the reallocation of resources)
18. National priorities: military planning and the changing market for military equipment: II (industry)
19. Technological development and the state of weapons development 1945-1973 (tactical)
20. Mutual force reduction and European security: European view
21. Mutual force reduction and European security: Soviet view
22. The control of transfers of conventional weapons
23. The relevance of strategic arms control: local conflict and the permanence of armed confrontation

Required Reading:

Bull, Hedley, The Control of the Arms Race. New York: Praeger, 1966.

V. Impediments to Future Progress: Can We Move from Control to Disarmament in the Seventies

24. Emergent issues in arms control: the "next generation" of strategic weapons
25. A comparison of U. S., Soviet, and Chinese approaches to arms control in the seventies
26. An evaluation of the pressures toward further proliferation of nuclear weapons: India, Japan, Israel
27. Remaining issues in the control of chemical and biological weapons
28. On the importance of military strength to world peace: general and complete disarmement
29. Moral and ethical pressures for disarmament: an appraisal

Required Reading:

1. Stanford Arms Control Textbook, Chapter 4.
2. Lederberg, Joshua, "The Control of Chemical and Biological Weapons," Stanford Journal of International Studies: Arms Control, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 22-44.
3. MacDonald, Gordon J. F., "How to Wreck the Environment," in Nigel Calder, ed., Unless Peace Comes. New York: Viking Books, 1968, pp. 181-205.
4. Feld, Bernard T., "ASW--the ABM of the 1970's," Stanford Journal of International Studies: Arms Control, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 87-95.

VI. Institutions, Processes and Techniques for the Control of Arms

30. Presidential control of force and crisis management: I
31. Presidential control of force and crisis management: II
32. U.S. institutions and strategies for developing negotiation positions
33. International institutions and political processes for the control of arms

Required Reading:

1. Stanford Arms Control Textbook, Chapter 3.

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2. Barnet, Richard J., and Richard A. Falk, Security in Disarmament. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. Part I.

VII. Conditions for a Disarmed World

34. Rational world-security arrangements
35. Rational world-security arrangements: law
36. Rational world-security arrangements: diplomacy
37. Rational world-security arrangements: what changes are needed in our uses of technology to achieve a peaceful world
38. The conditions for a disarmed world

Required Reading:

1. Stanford Arms Control Textbook, Chapter 5.
2. Barnet, Richard J., and Richard A. Falk, Security in Disarmament. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966. Parts II and III.
3. North, Robert C., "Arms Control and the Dynamics of International Conflict," Stanford Journal of International Studies: Arms Control, Vol. 7 (1972), pp. 96-108.

List of Books to be Purchased:

Barnet, Richard J., and Richard A. Falk, Security in Disarmament. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.
Bull, Hedley, The Control of the Arms Race. New York: Praeger, 1966.
Roberts, Chalmers, The Nuclear Years. New York: Praeger, 1970.
Stanford Arms Control Textbook (to be distributed in class)
Stanford Journal of International Studies: Arms Control, Vol. 7 (1972).
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Arms Control Agreements. 1959-1972.
York, Herbert, Race to Oblivion. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970.

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SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF REVOLUTION
(Sociology 475)

Thomas Mayer
Spring 1972

Institute of Behavioral Science
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

Description. This seminar examines the process of revolution and the relations of this process to social organization. The French, Russian and Chinese Revolutions will be particularly emphasized. Although extensive use is made of historical materials, our main purpose is not to trace chronology or to explain specific historical events, but to search for sociological principles which will illuminate a phenomenon that has assumed immense importance in the modern world. This search requires intensive analysis of several revolutions.

Texts. Norman Hampson, A Social History of the French Revolution.
Leon Trotsky, The Russian Revolution (ed. by F. W. Dupee).
Isaac Deutscher, Stalin: A Political Biography (2nd ed.).
Stuart Schram, Mao Tse-Tung.
William Hinton, Fanshen: A Documentary of Revolution in a Chinese Village.
Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy.
_____, Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World.
Chalmers Johnson, Revolutionary Change.
Frantz Fanon, A Dying Colonialism.

Course Outline

I. Revolutionary Organization

What type of organization is best for the process of precipitating revolution? Revolutionists have long debated this question. Many different answers have been given. Some have argued that it should be a broad mass based organization. Others favor a secret, conspiratorial organization. Some favor extreme centralization, others extreme decentralization. Since the advent of guerrilla warfare as a revolutionary strategy, an important debate has arisen over the question of whether the political branch of the organization should have control over the military branch or vice versa. Consider the strengths and weaknesses of various types of revolutionary organization. Do the most suitable forms depend upon sociological variables? If so, how?

Regis Debray, Revolution in the Revolution?
Che Guevara, Guerrilla Warfare.
V. I. Lenin, What Is to Be Done?
Rosa Luxembourg, "Leninism or Marxism" in R. Luxembourg, The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism.
Philip Selznick, The Organizational Weapon.

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II. Revolutionary Terror

Most revolutions of the modern era have been accompanied by a large quota of violence which might be characterized as revolutionary terror. This revolutionary terror has turned many people against all forms of revolution. Others have argued that it represents a corruption rather than an essential part of the revolutionary process. Most revolutionary leaders, however, defend the use of terror as an essential tool of revolution. The debate on this point has been particularly bitter. Consider the various arguments which have been made for and against revolutionary terror. What are the consequences of such terror for the future development of revolutionary society?

D. W. Brogan, The Price of Revolution.
John Dewey, "Means and Ends" in S. Hook (ed.), John Dewey: Philosopher of Science and Freedom.
Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth.
Movus Hillquit, From Marx to Lenin.
Karl Kautsky, The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
_____, Terrorism and Communism.
V. I. Lenin, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky.
Karl Marx, The Paris Commune.
Georges Sorel, Reflections on Violence.
Leon Trotsky, Their Morals and Ours.
_____, Terrorism and Communism.

III. Totalitarianism and Revolution

An important group of scholars contend that a strong connection exists between social revolution and the totalitarian state. The revolutionary process, they argue, centralizes power and destroys all institutions able to act as restraints on the power of the state. They conclude that the totalitarian state and the submergence of individual liberty is the likely outcome of the revolutionary process in the modern world. Consider the relationship between totalitarian social organization and revolution. Do you regard totalitarianism as the necessary result of revolution? Under what conditions will revolution produce a totalitarian episode? Under what conditions will this be avoided?

Hannah Arendt, On Revolution.
_____, The Origins of Totalitarianism.
Raya Dunayevska, Marxism and Freedom.
Carl J. Friedrich (ed.), Totalitarianism.
_____ and Z. K. Brzezinski, Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy.
V. I. Lenin, State and Revolution.
J. Martov, The State and the Socialist Revolution.
Franz L. Neumann, The Democratic and the Authoritarian State.
Sigmund Neumann, Permament Revolution.
Karl Wittfogel, Oriental Despotism.
Maurice Zeitlin, Revolutionary Politics and the Cuban Working Class.

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IV. Problems of Revolutionary Reconstruction

The main problem confronting a successful revolution centers around the issue of how to reconstruct a society which has been badly battered both under the old regime and by the storms of revolution. The process of revolutionary reconstruction poses a number of moral and practical dilemmas. For example, should initiative and ability be rewarded at the expense of creating inequality; should popular land reforms be adopted at the expense of creating an inefficient agriculture and a stratified rural society; should production goals emphasize short range consumption or long range strengthening of the economy. These issues were debated in the U. S. S. R. during the twenties; their impact can be detected in the Chinese Cultural Revolution, and they are being debated today in Cuba.

Isaac Deutscher, The Prophet Unarmed: Trotsky 1921-1929.
_____, The Prophet Outcast: Trotsky 1929-1940,
Maurice Dobb, Soviet Economic Development Since 1917.
Alexander Eckstein, Communist China's Economic Growth and Foreign Trade.
Alexander Erlich, The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924-1928.
Naum Jasny, The Socialized Agriculture of the U. S. S. R.
K. S. Karol, China: The Other Communism.
Alex Nove, The Soviet Economy.
E. Preobrazhensky, The New Economics.
F. Schurman and O. Schell (eds.), Communist China.
F. Schurman, Ideology and Organization in Communist China.
Benjamin Ward, The Socialist Economy.

V. Imperialism and Revolution

Revolutionaries of Marxist persuasion have always placed great emphasis on the phenomenon they call "imperialism." It is this which they feel explains why the revolutionary explosions during the twentieth century have occurred in less rather than more advanced parts of the globe, as Marx had expected. Furthermore, they contend, imperialism forces the poorer nations of the world to follow a revolutionary - as opposed to reformist - path if they wish to modernize themselves. Non-Marxists on the other hand have criticized this position in several ways. Some have challenged the existence of imperialism. Others have challenged its significance. Still others have contended that imperialism has had the opposite effect: it breaks down backwardness, speeds technological development, and makes possible a reformist path toward modernization.

Paul A. Baran, The Political Economy of Growth.
Michael B. Grown, After Imperialism.
H. B. Davis, "Imperialism and Labor: An Analysis of Marxian Views," Science and Society, 1962.
D. K. Fieldhouse, "'Imperialism': An Historiographical Revision," Economic History Review, 1961.
John A. Hobson, Imperialism.

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V. I. Lenin, Imperialism.
Harry Magdoff, "Economic Aspects of U. S. Imperialism," Monthly Review, 1966.
W. W. Rostow, Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto.
Joseph A. Schumpeter, Imperialism.
John Strackey, The End of Empire.
A. P. Thornton, Doctrines of Imperialism.
E. Varga and L. Mendelsohn, New Data for Lenin's Imperialism.

VI. Was the Russian Revolution a Failure?

Many have questioned whether the achievements of the Russian Revolution could justify the staggering loss of life and human suffering engendered by the Revolution. Perhaps other less drastic means would have sufficed to achieve the same results. In what sense was it a failure? In what sense was it a success?

Harry Braverman, The Future of Russia.
Isaac Deutscher, The Unfinished Revolution: Russia 1917-1967.
Merle Fainsod, How Russia Is Ruled.
Ian Grey, The First Fifty Years: Soviet Russia 1917-1967,
L. Huberman and P. Sweezy (eds.), "50 Years of Soviet Power," Monthly Review (Nov. 1967).
William Mandel, Russia Re-examined.
Royal Institute of International Affairs, The Impact of the Russian Revolution 1917-1967: The Influence of Bolshevism on the World Outside Russia.
Leon Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed.
Adam B. Ulam, The Unfinished Revolution.

VII. The Black Movement in America

The waves of intense disorder which have struck American urban ghettoes in the past several years have raised important questions about the so-called "black movement." Is this movement reformist or revolutionary? What are its chances of success? How does it compare with the previous revolutionary movements? What role can an oppressed minority group play in the fomentation of revolution? Can a revolution occur in an advanced industrial state?

James Baldwin, The Fire Next Time.
S. Carmichael and C. V. Hamilton, Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America.
Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power.
Robert Conot, Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness.
W. E. B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America.
Nat Hantoff, The New Equality.
Len Holt, The Summer That Didn't End.
John O. Killens, Black Man's Burden.
C. Grigg and L. Killian, Racial Crisis in America.
C. Eric Lincoln, The Black Muslims in America.
Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt.
A. Meier and E. M. Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto.
Charles Silberman, Crisis in Black and White,
Robert F. Williams, Negroes with Guns.
Malcolm X, Autobiography of Malcolm X.

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VIII. The Women's Liberation Movement

In the United States, the most recent movement of major social import is the movement for women's liberation. Among the important components of this movement are the following: (a) a demand for economic equality, (b) insistence upon an end to sexual exploitation of women, (c) a drive for greater social independence on the part of women, (d) organization so that women can assert their interests politically, (e) assertion of the unique value of female identity and its contribution or potential contribution to the overall development of human society. There exist many important questions about the women's liberation movement. Are the interests and values which women share in common because they are women more important than the interests and values on which they disagree because of differing class, ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds? Do differing sectors of the American female population have fundamentally conflicting images of liberation? Can the objectives of women's liberation be realized through some type of social reform, or do these objectives require complete revolution? How can the women's liberation movement relate to other movements struggling for social change without exposing itself to new assaults of male chauvinism? What will be the relationship between women and men in a liberated society?

Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex

Margaret Benston, "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation" in Monthly Review, September 1969.

M.J. Bukle, A.D. Gordon, and N. Schrom, "Women in American Society" in Radical America, Vol. 5, Number 4.

Roxanne Dunbar, "Female Liberation as the Basis for Social Revolution." Available from Southern Female Rights Union.

Eva Figes, Patriarchal Attitudes.

Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectics of Sex.

Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States.

Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique.

Germaine Greer, The Female Eunuch.

Aileen Kraditor (ed.), Up from the Pedestal: Landmark Writings in the American Woman's Struggle for Equality.

Robert Jay Lifton (ed.), The Woman in America.

Branka Magas, "Sex Politics: Class Politics" in New Left Review, March-April, 1971.

Kate Millett, Sexual Politics.

Nancy Milton, "Women and Revolution" in Socialist Revolution, No. 6.

Juliet Mitchel, "The Longest Revolution" in New Left Review, November-December, 1966.

Robin Morgan (ed.), Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Womens Liberation Movement.

Reimnt Reiche, Sexuality and Class Struggle.

Janet W. Salaff and Judith Markle, "Women and Revolution: The Lessons of the Soviet Union and China" in Social Revolution, July-Aug., 1970

IX. Students and Revolution

Students all over the world are today among the most militant and politically conscious sectors of the population. Moreover, since the Paris Commune of 1871, if not earlier, students have had an important role in many revolutions and revolts. Nevertheless, students

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are by no means homogeneous in their political sentiments and affiliations Student movements in various parts of the world are quite different despite some apparent similarities. What accounts for student activism? Some have argued it is an expression of Oedipal type aggression against the adult world, a conflict of generations pure and simple. Others claim students are the best informed and least morally compromised sector of society, and hence their activism is an expression of pure idealism. Many other positions exist as well. Discuss the composition of student populations in different societies. What are the different forms which student activism can assume? Explain the existence of such activism. When will it occur and when will it fail to occur? Analyze the role of students in revolution. What is likely to be the role of students in future revolutions?

Jerry L. Avorn et al., Up Against the Ivy Wall: A History of the Columbia Crisis.
Alexander Cockburn and Robin Blackburn (eds.), Student Power: Problems, Diagnosis, Action.
Carl Davidson, "The New Radicals in the Multiversity: An Analysis and Strategy for the Student Movement" in Lutz and Brent (eds.): On Revolution.
Barbara and John Ehrenreich, Long March, Short Spring: The Student Uprising at Home and Abroad.
Lewis Feuer, The Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements.
Richard Flacks, "Revolt of the Young Intelligensia: Revolutionary Class-Consciousness in a Post-Scarcity America" in Aya and Miller (eds.): The New American Revolution.
Richard Flacks, "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the Roots of Student Protest" in H. Gadlin and B. Garskof (eds.): The Uptight Society.
Herbert Gintis, "The New Working Class and Revolutionary Youth" in Socialist Revolution, May-June, 1970.
Jurgen Habermas, Toward a Rational Society: Student Protest, Science and Politics.
Harold Jacobs (ed.), Weatherman.
Kenneth Kenniston, Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth.
Seymour M. Lipset and Philip G. Altbach (eds.), Students in Revolt.
Seymour M. Lipset and Sheldon S. Wolin (eds.), The Berkeley Student Revolt.
Michael Miles, The Radical Probe.
John and Margaret Rowntree, "The Political Economy of Youth" in H. Gadlin and B. Garskof (eds.): The Uptight Society.
Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China.
Sheldon S. Wolin and John H. Schaar, The Berkeley Rebellion and Beyond: Essays on Politics and Education in the Technological Society.

X. Culture and Revolution

Consciousness, life style, art, and other cultural elements have always been recognized as highly relevant to revolution. Recently, a theory of cultural as opposed to political revolution has found favor in the United States and Western Europe. According to this theory, revolution will occur through the emergence of new forms of consciousness and new life styles and not through direct political

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action. These forms of consciousness and these life styles will gradually spread and eventually the bulk of the population will be reached. Moreover, they will crystalize in dual or alternative institutions such as communes and collectives which exist side by side with established family and production units. Eventually, support will gravitate towards these alternative institutions while the previously established institutions will disintegrate from lack of support. The political transformation of society will be the final act of the revolution. Opponents of this view contend such a development cannot occur because the alternative institutions are subtly dependent upon established institutions. They also argue dual institutions cannot develop beyond a certain point without capturing the state and the dominant means of production. Consider the role of culture in the process of revolution. How does the role of culture depend upon the kind of society in which revolution occurs? Can cultural concerns be an anti-revolutionary force? How? Is a cultural revolution of the sort described above possible in western civilization? What is the relationship between political and cultural revolution?

Norman O. Brown, Love's Body.
Christopher Caudwell, Studies and Further Studies in a Dying Culture.
Jack Ellul, The Technological Society.
K. H. Fan (ed.), The Chinese Cultural Revolution.
Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks.
Louis Kampf, On Modernism.
R.D. Laing, The Politics of Experience.
Henri Lefebvre, Everyday Life in the Modern World.
Robert Jay Lifton, Boundaries: Psychological Man in Revolution.
George Lukacs, History and Class Consciousness.
Herbert Marcuse, Eros and Civilization.
Victor Nee and Don Layman, The Cultural Revolution at Peking University.
Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America.
Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture.
Jerry Rubin, Do It!
Philip Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness: American Culture at the Breaking Point.

XI. Ecology and Revolution

In recent years there has been growing awareness of an ecological crisis facing mankind. This crisis seems to have at least four interrelated dimensions: population growth, food production, fuel shortages, and pollution. Many observers have noted connections between revolution and the ecological crisis, but the conclusions drawn are often quite different. One group argues the magnitude and systematic nature of the ecological crisis makes revolution more imperative than ever, since only total social reconstruction can possibly avert an ecological doomsday. Others contend ecological problems are so pressing men must put aside all thoughts of revolution to deal immediately with the ecological crisis. Still others hold ecological analysis demonstrates that material abundance for the entire population of the world--often a major objective of revolutionaries--is impossible. This, they claim, undermines the rationale for revolution, at least revolution on a world wide scale. Finally, some claim that the notion of an ecological crisis is a deliberate exaggeration intended to distract

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attention from more sensitive social and political issues. Consider these perspectives. Discuss the relationship between ecology and revolution. Can ecological disasters give rise to a revolutionary movement? Can revolution deal effectively with ecological problems? How? Some people claim that much ecological analysis is implicitly elitist, racist, and anti-democratic. Is this true?

George Borgstrom, The Hungry Planet.
Josue de Castro, The Geography of Hunger.
Barry Commoner, Science and Survival.
Rene Dumont and Bernard Rosier, The Hungry Future.
Paul Ehrlich, The Population Bomb.
Paul R. and Anne H. Ehrlich, Population, Resources, Environment: Issues in Human Ecology.
Robert Engler, Politics of Oil: A Study of Private Power and Democratic Direction.
Jean Mayer, "Toward a Non-Malthusian Population Policy" in Columbia University Forum, Summer 1969.
Alan S. Miller and Phil Farnham, "The Ecology and Politics Manual" (pamphlet distributed by United Ministries in Higher Education)
James Ridgeway, The Politics of Ecology.
R. Slater, D. Kitt, D. Widelock, P. Kangas, and N. Thorkelson, The Earth Belongs to the People: Ecology and Power (pamphlet distributed by Peoples Press).
Barry Weisberg, "The Politics of Ecology" in Liberation, Jan. 1970.
Barry Weisberg (ed.), Eco-cide in Indochina.

XII. Revolutionary Utopias: Democracy, Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Syndicalism.

Visions of revolutionary utopias appear again and again in revolutionary ideologies and have exercised an important inspirational effect upon revolutionary leadership. Although they may postpone the realization of these utopias far into the future, revolutionaries seldom doubt that they can be realized. Consider the various kinds of revolutionary utopias: participatory democracy, socialism, communism, anarchism, syndicalism. How would societies organized on these principles operate? Are societies of these kinds actually feasible?Why or why not? Are such societies desirable? What are the points of conflict between various conceptions of utopia? Give a sociological interpretation of which utopias appeal to which social groups. Some writers claim the notion of utopia is dangerous since actual utopias are totally unworkable but provide a justification for all kins of inhumanity. Others contend the notion of utopia is an intellectual expression of human hope and symptomatic that mankind has not abandoned the effort to create a society worthy of humanity. Discuss these conflicting claims.

Ernst Bloch, A Philosophy of the Future.
Murray Bookchin, Post-Scarcity Anarchism.
Martin Buber, Paths to Utopia.
April Carter, The Political Theory of Anarchism.
Erich Fromm (ed.), Socialist Humanism.
Percival and Paul Goodman, "A New Community" in P. Long (ed.): The New Left.
Daniel Guerin, Anarchism.
Lesek Kolakowski, Toward a Marxist Humanism.

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Leonard Krimerman and Lewis Perry, Patterns of Anarchy.
Carl A. Landauer, "The Revival of the Analysis of the Desirable Society" in C.A. Landauer: European Socialism Vol. II.
Ernest Mandel, "Socialist Economy" in E. Mandel: Marxist Economic Theory Vol. II.
Herbert Marcuse, An Essay on Liberation.
F. F. Ridley, Revolutionary Syndicalism in France.
Paul M. Sweezy, Socialism.
Jacob L. Talmon, Political Messianism.
Michael Walzer, "A Day in the Life of a Socialist Citizen" in Lutz and Brent (eds.): On Revolution.
George Woodcock, Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements.

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INTERNATIONAL ETHICS
(Philosophy 315)

Huntington Terrell
Fall 1971

Department of Philosophy
Colgate University
Hamilton, New York

Course requirements:

Attendance at class discussions
"Position papers" on one major issue in each of the five parts of the course
A mid-term and a final examination

Meeting # Reading Assignments

The doubts of the 'realists'

1 J. Dewey, "Ethics and International Relations," Foreign Affairs, Vol. I, No. 3, March 1923
Excerpts from The General Treaty for the Renunciation of War (Kellogg-Briand Pact, 1928)

2 Plato, Gyges and the Ring, The Republic, Cornford tr., 43-45
G. H. von Wright, "Justice," The Varieties of Goodness, Ch. X
H. Morgenthau, "Morality, Mores and Law as Restraints on Power," Politics Among Nations, Ch. 15

3 Q. Wright, "International Ethics," The Study of International Relations, ch. 29

4 H. Morgenthau, "The Twilight of International Morality," Ethics, January, 1948, 79-80, 88-99

5 K. Baier, The Moral Point of View, abridged ed., 90-109, 118-120, 151-157
S. I. Benn and R. S. Peters, "Is There an International Society?" and "Moral Principles and International Politics," The Principles of Political Thought, 423-429

6 P. Corbett, "Morals in International Relations," Morals, Law and Power in International Relations, Ch. 1
R. Niebuhr, "Moral Men and Immoral Society" and "The National Interest and Beyond," in Davis and Good, Reinhold Niebuhr on Politics, 84-86, 332-335

7&8 E. H. Carr, The Twenty Years' Crisis, Chs. 1-5

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9 Carr, Chs. 6-8
Benn and Peters, "Individuals in Association," Principles of Political Thought, 275-297

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Ethics and politics

11 B. Gert, "Justifying Violence," Journal of Philosophy, October 2, 1969

12 J. Ladd, Introduction to I. Kant, The Metaphysical Elements of Justice, ix-xxi

13 D. Acheson, "Ethics in International Relations Today," New York Times, December 9, 1964
R. F. Kennedy, Thirteen Days, 33-37
Q. Quade, "The Burden of Freedom: The Political Situation Viewed as an Ethical Situation," Worldview, July, 1968
G. F. Kennan, Realities of American Foreign Policy, 47-50
Kennan, "Foreign Policy and the Christian Conscience, The Atlantic Monthly, May, 1959

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M. Weber, "Politics as a Vocation," Essays in Sociology, 115-127

15 B. Deming, "Pacifism," Win, May 1, 1971
M.K. Gandhi, Selections from Gandhi (ed. N. K. Bose,) 2nd. ed., 153-167

A hard case: the Mid-East conflict

16& American Friends Service Committee, Search for Peace in the
17 Middle East, preface, Chs. I-III, Appendix

18 G. F. Hourani, "Israel, The Arabs, and Ethics," The Humanist, March-April, 1969
B. Halpern, "A Problem of Ethics," Midstream, August-September, 1969
Blank, Kerr, Blau and Wine, "In Response to Israel,The Arabs, and Ethics," The Humanist, March-April and May-June, 1969

19 American Friends Service Committee, Chs. IV-VI

The status of international law

20 K. Baier, The Moral Point of View (abridged ed.,) 118-120, 151-157
P. Corbett, "Law in International Relations," Morals, Law and Power, Ch. 2
Benn and Peters, "International Law," "The Concept of a World State," and "The United Nations and Power Politics," Principles of Political Thought, 431-440

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21 H. L. A. Hart, "International Law, The Concept of Law, 212-215, 226
P. Jessup, A Modern Law of Nations, 4-8
R. Fisher, "Bringing Law to Bear on Governments," in Falk and Mendlovitz, The Strategy of World Order, vol. 2, International Law, 75-84
E. H. Carr, Ch. 10

22 Carr, Chs. 11-12
E. Gross, "The World's Empty Court House," Vista, May-June,1971

Are nations moral agents?

23 Carr, Chs. 13-14
J. Ladd (see #12 above)
24 I. Kant, "The Law of Nations and World Law," The Metaphysical Elements of Justice, 115-129

25 E. Reves, The Anatomy of Peace, 105-116, 120-121, 129-144
R. Falk, "No Nation Can Go It Alone," AAUW Journal, May, 1970
K. Boulding, "The Impact of the Draft on the Legitimacy of the National State," S. Tax, The Draft, 191-196

The rights of men and the rights of nations

26 J. S. Mill, "A Few Words on Non-Intervention," Dissertations and Discussions, Vol. III
27 Excerpts from The Charter of the United Nations, and Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO
Q. Wright and W. Bogaard, "Concepts of Foreign Policy, Worldview, February and April, 1965

28 Benn and Peters, "Tne Principle of Non-interference in Relations Between States, The Principles of Political Thought, 429-431
J. Reston, "Czech Crisis: The Limits of American Power and Influence," New York Times, July 24, 1968
E. Lefever, "The Perils of Reform Intervention," Worldview, February, 1970
J. A. Lucal, "The Perils of Reform Isolation," Worldview, May, 1970
R. Barnet, "The American Responsibility," Raskin and Fall, The Vietnam Reader

29 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
The United Nations and the Human Person, U. N. Office of Public Information

30 D. Goulet, Is Gradualism Dead? Reflections on Order, Change and Force (Council on Religion and International Affairs pamphlet)

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32 St. Thomas Aquinas, "Of Murder and War," Summa Theologica, II-II, Questions 64 & 40
G. E. M. Anscombe, "War and Murder," in Wasserstrom,ed., War and Morality
J. Ford, "The Morality of Obliteration Bombing," in Wasserstrom

33 R. Potter, "The Moral Logic of War," McCormick Quarterly, May, 1970
H. Morgenthau, "The Twilight of International Morality,"82-88

34 T. Roszak, "Dilemmas of the 'Just War'," The Nation, April 14, 1962
B. Russell, Justice in War Time, 3-5

35 R. Wasserstrom, "On the Morality of War: A Preliminary Inquiry," in Wasserstrom

36 T. Taylor, Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy, Chs. 3&5

37 The International Tribunal at Nuremberg, Judgment and Opinion, in Wasserstrom
Taylor, Introduction, Chs. 1, 2 and 4

Morality in guerilla warfare

38 J. Forest, "Vietnam: The Basic Question,"Worldview, April 1965
M. Walzer, "Moral Judgment in Time of War," in Wasserstrom
P. Ramsey, "Is Vietnam a Just War?", The Just War, 497-512
Taylor, Ch. 6

39 Taylor, Ch. 7

40 Taylor, Ch. 8
R. Falk, Review of Nuremberg and Vietnam from New York Times Book Review, December 27, 1970

The morality of nuclear deterrence

41 T. Schelling, Arms and Influence, Ch. 1
J. Douglass, "The Morality of Thermonuclear Deterrence," Worldview, October 1964

42 T. Roszak, "A Just War Analysis of Two Types of Deterrence," Ethics, January, 1963
P. Ramsey, "The Justice of Deterrence," The Just War, Ch. 15

Non-violent defense

43 H. J. N. Horsburgh, Non-Violence and Aggression, Ch. 1

44 Gandhi, "Non-violence," (see #15 above)
Horsburgh, Ch. 2

45 Horsburgh, Ch. 3

46 Horsburgh, Ch. 4

47 Horsburgh, Ch. 5

48 G. Sharp, "National Defense Without Armaments," Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives, Ch. 3

49 Horsburgh, Ch. 6

50 Horsburgh, Ch. 7

INTRODUCTION TO PEACE RESEARCH: METHODS AND MODELS IN THE QUEST FOR A WARLESS WORLD (Political Science 491)

Peace Research Applications Group, the L. S. & A. Student Government, & J. David Singer
Fall 1972

Department of Political Science
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Peace research has come to be characterized by a wide range of investigative activities dealing with conceptions of a warless world, problems inherent in making a transition to such a world, and means for averting violent conflict during this transition.

For nearly two decades, Michigan's Center for Research on Conflict Resolution and Journal of Conflict Resolution have assisted in shaping the course of peace research and have placed the University in the forefront of the global peace research movement. With the recent demise of the Center and the loss of the Journal, faculty-oriented peace research has suffered a distressing, if not debilitating, set-back on the Michigan campus.

In recent months, the Peace Research Applications Group (PRAG) has, with L. S. & A. Student Government assistance, emerged in Ann Arbor as an informal association of students and faculty interested in looking beyond the turbulent years in Michigan peace research. Its purpose is not to minister to those afflicted by a perceived loss of personal or institutional prestige--the peace research movement is of necessity unsympathetic to such a malady. Instead, the PRAG program is aimed at increasing the efficacy of the movement by broadening university and community involvement in peace research and by increasing the impact of peace research on public opinion and public policy.

Of late, peace studies courses have been springing up in universities throughout this country and, indeed, the world. None is offered at the University of Michigan; nor will the present course attempt to fill this particular void. To be sure, scholarly reflection on the available knowledge pertinent to the quest for a warless world is essential to the realization of that quest--it needs to be not only compressed into a peace studies course, but inserted as well into the full range of the University curriclulum. But exposure to the knowledge of peace in a contemplative peace studies course is seen to be a very limited objective insofar as highly motivated undergraduate students may presently attain a substantial grounding in the available knowledge largely on their own initiative. This, in addition to offering some guidance in their contemplative approach to the knowledge of peace, it is the goal of the present course to offer these students an introduction to a variety of less accessible insights which are equally pertinent to the quest for a warless world. To this end, the course would hope to communicate the possibility (and its implications) that few if any conflicts are truly between the good and the bad; it would seek to provide a forum for critical ghinking and effective oral and written expression; it would seek to train students to enlarge, refine, and apply the available knowledge of peace.

Course Structure

JOURNAL and Editorial Board

An Editorial Board composed of seven students electing the course will have responsibility for compiling three issues of a mimeographed Journal. The Journal will aim to publish the output of class discussion teams (see below); commentaries on that output, as well as on lectures and readings; and a variety of brief articles submitted by course participants and other interested parties. Although each issue of the Journal will have a specific topical orientation, submissions dealing with any facet of peace research will be acceptable for publication.

The role of the Journal is to provide an ongoing critical review of the course--to point out perceived discrepancies between rhetoric and reality and to allow for the communication of alternative viewpoints and proposals in a forum constrained only by the dictates of reason and evidence. Hopefully, this experience will help to prepare for a larger-scale critical review to be undertaken in future semesters: A sort of Nader's Raiders of world order.

In addition to his other duties, each Editorial Board member (other than the Chairperson) will be assisting a particular discussion team in its compilation of written submissions for the Journal pertaining to two special inquiries that the team will be undertaking in the course of the semester. The Editorial Board will compose a relevant study guide to facilitate the initial inquiry of the discussion teams and to prepare Board members for their participation in that inquiry. Board members will also assist in preparations for the simulation.

Case Study and Simulation

The course will utilize the Arab-Israeli conflict as a case study to facilitate internal integration of the course materials and to promote the testing and application of these materials in a real world setting. Students not on the Editorial Board will join one of six discussion teams, each to be seen as an unofficial delegation from one of the principal actors in the Arab-Israeli conflict system: the United States, the Soviet Union, Egypt, Jordan, Israel, or the Palestinian Arabs. Discussion team members should be prepared to communicate in the Journal and in class discussions the viewpoint of their actor, but are not bound to behave as they think an actual representative would. Indeed, this would be impossible, inasmuch as the course has set forth an unreal constraint on the deliberations of the discussion teams, i.e., a commitment to reason and evidence. The assumption is, however, that the discussion teams can meet this constraint and still communicate the integrity, if not legitimacy, of divergent viewpoints.

Each discussion team will conduct two inquiries regarding their actor's stance within the conflict system. These inquiries will form the basis for articles in the first two issues of the Journal. The first issue will contain six articles on "Understanding the Role of Actor X in the Arab-Israeli War of 1967;" articles in the second issue will focus on "A Critical Appraisal of Actor X's Approach to a Settlement of the Arab-Israeli Conflict."

Toward the end of the semester, the discussion teams will formally interact with each other as delegations to a simulated "Cross-National Forum on the Arab-Israeli Conflict." The goal of the Forum will be to generate a workable peace proposal from position papers submitted by the discussion teams. There will be no checks on students' behavior similar to shose prevailing in full-scale conflict simulations (e.g., the possibility of being overthrown which is often faced by simulated decisionmakers). But each delegation must contend with the understanding that unless the position of the actor which it unofficially represents is fully and responsibly articulated, the Forum will be unable to produce a workable peace proposal.

Lecturers

Lecturers will be asked to relate their presentations to the case study to the extent that this is feasible and reasonably convenient. Submissions for the Journal (Perhaps an aging memorandum too pithy for the Op-Ed page of The New York Times); assistance in identifying areas for future research, education, and action; and other contributions aside from the lectured introduction to an area of expertise will also be welcome.

Methods Workshops and Panel Discussion

The course will exhibit a certain bias toward the use of scientific methodology. This is, in part, a necessary response to the established bias of the peace research movement. Indeed, peace researchers have long been in the forefront of those seeking to equip the social sciences with the methods of science. But further, the utilization of scientific methodology is seen as an affirmation of the guiding philosophy of the course--a commitment to reason and evidence as counterweights to the insertion of personal whim and prejudice in man's intellectual pursuits. Whether, in the view of the students as well as faculty, scientific methodology can live up to this homily is a matter for a panel discussion to consider upon the commencement of the section on methods. Later, a full week will be devoted to four extended workshops on specific methods: Content analysis, survey techniques, quantification of historical materials, and selected computer techniques. Students electing the course will be expected to attend at least one of the workshops and complete the appropriate problem sheets.

Grades

Grades for students not on the Editorial Board will be determined according to the following formula.

1. Methods problem sheets	20%	(if material from more than one workshop is submitted, only the highest grade will be used in computing the course grade)
2. Final exam	30%	
3. Required output of student's discussion team	50%	

Students choosing to serve on the Editorial Board may be exempted from the final exam and the methods workshop requirement. The Editorial Board may be seen to constitute a seminar within a course, and each member will be graded accordingly.

Syllabus

Two texts are to be purchased for the course:
Irene L. Gendzier (ed.), A Middle East Reader, Pegasus, 477 pp.
J. David Singer, The Scientific Study of Politics: An Approach to Foreign Policy Analysis, General Learning Press, 31 pp.
Additionally, each student is asked to contribute one dollar into a fund for Xeroxing and related expenses of his discussion team.

I. Introduction to Peace Research

Sept. 12 -Discussion: methods of instruction, educational goals, PRAG program, etc.
-Students will complete a questionnaire regarding background and interests.

Sept. 14 -Introductory Comments by President, Peace Research Society (International)
*Organizational meetings of discussion teams and Editorial Board.
Assigned Reading: Johan Galtung, "The Middle East and the Theory of Conflict," Journal of Peace Research, 1971, 3-4: pp. 173-206.

Sept. 19 -Sampling the Field: A Philosophy of Peace
Assigned Readings: George F. Hourani, "Israel, the Arabs, and Ethics," The Humanist, March-April 1969, pp. 13-16.
Irwin M. Blank, Malcolm H. Kerr, Joseph L. Blau, "In Response to 'Israel, the Arabs, and Ethics,'" ibid., pp. 17-19.
George F. Hourani and Sherwin T. Wine, "More on 'Israel, the Arabs, and Ethics;" The Humanist, May-June 1969, p. 28.
Werner Levi, "The Relative Irrelevance of Moral Norms in International Politics," in James N. Rosenau (ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, pp. 191-8.

Sept. 21 -A Radical Critique of Peace Research
Assigned Reading: Michael D. Wallace, "The Radical Critique of Peace Research: An Interpretation and Evaluation," Peace Research Reviews, 1972, 4: pp. 24-51.
Recommended Readings: Herman Schmid, "Peace Research and Politics," Journal of Peace Research, 1968, 3: pp. 217-32.

Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," Journal of Peace Research, 1969, 3: pp. 167-91.

*Discussion team meetings looking toward inquiry into "Understanding the Role of Actor X in the Arab-Israeli War of 1967."
Handout: Study Guide, Part I

Sept. 26 -The Level-of-Analysis Problem: Focusing the Discussion Teams
Assigned Reading: J. David Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations," in Rosenau, op. cit., pp. 20-29.
Recommended Reading: Ekkehart Krippendorf, "The State as a Focus of Peace Research," Peace Research Society Papers, 1971, pp. 47-60.
*Discussion team meetings
Handout: Study Guide, Part II

Sept. 28 *Discussion team meetnngs

Oct. 3 *Discussion teams undertake inquiry; Editorial Board members assist in compilation of materials (i.e., written submissions plus synopsis of ongoing discussion) to be included in the Journal.

Journal, Vol. I, No. 1, "The Arab-Israeli War of 1967: Six Perspectives on a Six-Day Conflict."

II. Selected Models in Peace Research (Readings to be determined in consultation with lecturers)

Oct. 5 -National Interests
*Discussion team meetings looking toward second inquiry: "A Critical Appraisal of Actor X's Approach to a Settlement of the Arab-Israeli Conflict."

Oct.10 -Decisionmaking Approach to the Study of International Conflict
*Discussion team meetings

Oct. 12 -Societal Sources of Conflict Policy
*Discussion team meetnngs

Oct. 17 -Social Psychology of International Conflict and Conflict Resolution
*Discussion team meetings.

Oct. 19 -Integration Theory
*Discussion team meetings

Oct. 24 *Discussion team meetings

Oct. 26 *Discussion teams undertake inquiry

Journal, Vol. I, No. 2, "Toward a Middle East Settlement: Rhetoric and Reality."

III. Selected Methods in Peace Research

Oct. 31 -Scientific Methodology: Problems and Prospects (panel discussion)
Assigned Readings: George Kent,""Foreign Policy Analysis: Middle East," Peace Research Society Papers, 1970, pp. 95-112.
J. David Singer, The Scientific Study of Politics: An Approach to Foreign Policy Analysis, pp. 1-5.

Nov. 2 -Data-Making and Measurement of Social Phenomena
-Analyzing and Interpreting Data
Assigned Reading: Ibid., pp. 5-31.

Nov. 6-10 -Methods Workshops

Nov. 14 -The Use of Simulation
*Introduction to Upcoming Simulation

IV. Simulated Cross-National Forum on the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Nov. 16-21 *Discussion teams prepare position papers

Nov. 23 Thanksgiving

Nov. 28-
Dec. 5 Forum prepares synthesized peace proposal.

Journal, Vol. I, No. 3, Special Issue: "Proceedings of the Cross-National Forum on the Arab-Israeli Conflict."

V. Future World Order

Dec. 7 -Guest Lecturer

Dec. 12 -Discuss "Proceedings..."
-Review international scene, future of PRAG, etc.
Assigned Reading: Anatol Rapoport, "Can Peace Research be Applied?", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1970, 2: pp. 277-286.
Recommended Readings: "Education for Peace," Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 1970, 4: pp. 317-328.
"Peace Research, Education, Action," Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 1972, 2: pp. 101-9.

Take-Home Final Exam 5-7 page critical review of "Proceedings..." Among the questions to be considered: Were readings and lectures applicable to the formulation of the peace proposal? Is the plan itself applicable to the real world?

MACRO SOCIAL SYSTEMS ENGINEERING
(Engineering 380)

K. Chen
Winter 1973

Department of Engineering
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

1. Overview and Organization
   a. Kan Chen, "Exploring New Directions in Engineering Education," Technological Forecasting and Social Change, Vol. 3, pp. 391-396, 1972.
   b. Kan Chen, "Macro Social Systems Engineering." College of Engineering News feature article, University of Michigan, Spring Issue, 1971-1972.

2. Macroproblems
   a. John Platt, "What We Must Do," Science, Vol. 166, pp. 1115-1121, Nov. 28, 1969.
   b. John Platt, "How Men Can Shape Their Future." Futures, pp. 32-47, March 1971.
   c. Jay W. Forrester, World Dynamics. (Wright-Allen Press), 1971; chs. 1 and 2.

3. Processes and Institutions
   a. Charles E. Lindblom, The Policy-Making Process. (Prentice-Hall), 1968; pp. 1-42; 116-118.
   b. William Gorham, et al., Urban Processes. (The Urban Institute), 1968; pp. 13-22 (Arrow); pp. 39-49 (Coleman).

4. Values, Utility, Objective Trees
   a. Nicholas Rescher, Introduction to Value Theory. (Prentice-Hall), 1969; pp.1-12, 20-25, 99-103, 111-127.
   b. Arnold Mitchell and Mary Baird, "American Values." Stanford Research Institute Report. 1968; pp. 1-10.
   c. Howard Raiffa, Decision Analysis. (Addison-Wesley), 1968; ch. 4.

5. Socio-Economic Modeling
   a. Jay W. Forrester, Urban Dynamics. (MIT Press), 1969; chs. 1, 2, 7.
   b. Kan Chen and William L. Garrison, "Urban Modeling" in Kan Chen (ed.), Urban Dynamics: Extensions and Reflections. (San Francisco Press), 1972; pp. 1-13.

6. Decision Analysis, Cost Benefit Analysis
   a. Howard Raiffa, Decision Analysis. (Addison-Wesley), 1968; chs. 1, 2.
   b. Arthur Smithies, "Conceptual Framework for the Program Budget," in David Novick (ed.), Program Budgeting: Program Analysis and the Federal Budget, RAND Corp., (U. S. Printing Office), 1964.

7. Panel Discussion on Technology and Public Decision Processes
   a. William Gorham, et al., The Struggle to Bring Technology to Cities. (The Urban Institute), 1971.

8. Socially-Oriented Engineering Design
   a. Kan Chen, "Introduction to Environmental and Urban Systems Design," and "Social Dimension in Engineering Design," course modules for ES1, Environmental Systems Engineering Program, University of Pittsburgh, 1971.

9. Policy Research
   a. Harold D. Lasswell, A Pre-View of Policy Sciences. (American Elsevier), 1971; pp. 1-74.

10. Technology Assessment
   a. National Academy of Sciences, Technology: Processes of Assessment and Choice. (U. S. Government Printing Office), 1969.
   b. Joseph F. Coates, "Technology Assessment: The Benefits, The Costs, The Consequences." The Futurist, December 1971; pp. 225-231.

11. Socio-Technological Systems Design
   a. Kan Chen, et al., "Telecommunications," ES238 course notes, Environmental Systems Engineering Program, University of Pittsburgh, 1971.

12. Technology and Philisophy
   a. Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society (selected chapters).
   b. Henryk Skalimowski, "A Critique of the Myth of the Objectivity of Science."
   c. J. C. Mathes, "The Engineer's Social Responsibility as Personal Commitment." Phi Kappa Phi Journal, Vol. 51, No. 2, Spring 1971.

13. Project Presentations
   Students

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SCIENCE AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Robert L. Oslon
Fall and Winter 1971-72

Faculty of the Residential College
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Week 1: OVERVIEW

(1) Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," SCIENCE

(2) John R. Platt, "What We Must Do," SCIENCE

(3) S.R. Eyre, "Man The Pest: The Dim Chance of Survival," NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

(4) Richard Falk, THIS ENDANGERED PLANET (begin reading)

Week 2: POPULATION AND FOOD

(1) Selections from Ehrlich and Ehrlich, POPULATION, RESOURCES, ENVIRONMENT

(2) National Academy of Sciences, RESOURCES AND MAN, Chapters 1,3,4,5

(3) Bernard Berelson, "Beyond Family Planning," SCIENCE

(4) Addeke Boerma, "A World Agricultural Plan," SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

(5) Collection of N.Y. TIMES clippings on successes and problems of of the Green Revolution

Week 3: RESOURCES AND ENERGY

(1) POPULATION, RESOURCES, ENVIRONMENT, Chapter 4, "The Limits of the Earth"

(2) THIS ENDANGERED PLANET, "The Insufficiency of Resources"

(3) Harrison Brown, "Human Materials Production As A Process in the Biosphere, SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, Sept. 1970

(4) M. King Hubbert, "The Energy Resources of the Earth," SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, Sept., 1971

(5) David R. Inglis, "Nuclear Energy and the Malthusian Dilemma," BULLETIN OF ATOMIC SCIENTISTS, Feb., 1971

Week 4: ENVIRONMENT

(1) POPULATION, RESOURCES, ENVIRONMENT, Chapters 6&7

(2) THIS ENDANGERED PLANET, "Environmental Overload"

(3) Lynn White, Jr., "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis, SCIENCE

(4) Lewis A. Moncrief, "The Cultural Basis for our Environmental Crisis," SCIENCE

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Week 5: WAR

(1) THIS ENDANGERED PLANET

(2) Herbert F. York, "Military Technology and National Security," SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, August 1969

(3) Archibald Alexander, "The Cost of World Armaments," SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, October 1969

(4) G.W. Rathjens, "Technology and the Arms Race -- Where We Stand," Introduction to IMPACT OF NEW TECHNOLOGIES ON THE ARMS RACE, A Pugwash Monograph, MIT Press, 1971

(5) J.D. Singer, "The 'Correlates of War' Project: Interim Report and Rationale," WORLD POLITICS, XXIV, 2, January 1972

Week 6: INTEGRATIVE PERSPECTIVE

(1) Meadows and Meadows, THE LIMITS TO GROWTH

(2) Mimeo statement of The Club of Rome on the World "Problematique"

Week 7: WHAT WE MUST DO

(1) Reread John Platt, "What We Must Do," SCIENCE

(2) Lewis Mumford, THE MYTH OF THE MACHINE: THE PENTAGON OF POWER, "If the Sleepers Awaken"

Week 8: SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN SCIENCE

(1) Selection from IN THE MATTER OF J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER, a play by H. Kipphardt

(2) Selection from THE PHYSICISTS, a play by F. Durrenmatt

(3) Selection from Werner Heisenberg, PHYSICS AND BEYOND

(4) Selection from Barry Commoner, SCIENCE AND SURVIVAL

(5) DOES SCIENCE HAVE A CONSCIENCE? BBC Program Transcript

Week 9: THE ETHICS OF DELIBERATE SOCIAL CHANGE

(1) Selection from B.F. Skinner, BEYOND FREEDOM AND DIGNITY

(2) Carl Rogers & B.F. Skinner, "Some Issues Concerning the Control of Human Behavior," SCIENCE

(3) Bertrand Russell, "The Science To Save Us From Science," NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE

(4) Herbert Kelman, "Manipulation of Human Behavior: An Ethical Dilemma," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES

Weeks 10-14 Class discussions of strategies for social change; students suggest materials to read; discussions reach to a personal level: how do the ideas of this course touch you (and me)? What can you (and I) do?

Campus "experts" (John Platt, David Singer, etc.) join us, with at least one relevant "outsider" present for each class. They do not have to prepare or give a formal talk -- just join in the discussion.

GLOBAL SOCIETY

C. F. Alger, L. F. Anderson,
and Paul Smoker
Fall and Winter 1970-1

Dept. of Political Science
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

Description. A major task of this research seminar is to develop theory that accounts for our world as a large-scale social system; that is, to develop images of this planet as a "wholistic operating entity." The complexity and novelty involved requires that we not only adopt multi-disciplinary perspectives, but also that we define more narrow research foci. With respect to the former, we encourage interested students and faculty from all areas of inquiry to join us. Obviously, the more variety of perspective we have to start, the more challenging and fruitful our collective efforts will be. We expect that research foci will develop in our discussions; however, we can indicate here some "products" which might be realized in three quarters' activities. (1) We can consider writing a book on "global society" for a comparable course at the undergraduate level. This would entail the development of new and radical images of curricula, as well as of the subject matter involved. (2) We might want to "translate" such a book for elementary and secondary education. Given these two products, we would need some research in areas of bibliographic compilation, secondary data building, and problem-oriented theoretical work. Other efforts could also be undertaken--such as in the area of visual media--which would complement each of the products.

The course outline that follows assumes an integrated set of activities and a relatively stable set of participants over the entire year; however, given the usual administrative "quarters", we have tentatively divided our materials and activities along those tripartite lines.

In Fall quarter (one meeting per week) we will identify and discuss global problems in contexts provided by a number of theoretical approaches to the study of global society. We will attempt to "map" past, present, and future systemic characteristics and behaviors that are relevant for understanding these searches for indicators and scenarios of system performances. During this quarter we will survey a broad range of phenomena--leaving in-depth analysis until later--with the aim of increasing the variety of global images available to us.

Winter quarter will consist of a series of workshops in which we will blend our individual research efforts into an integrated, product-oriented collective effort. The number and length of workshops will depend upon our prior progress and our needs with respect to research design and technique. We envision a two-day conference during the first week in March in which we will present our work to a critical audience.

Spring quarter will involve more narrowly focused, in-depth analysis of global society (in this sense it will be a partial replication of Fall quarter's activities). Here we will reformulate a theory of global society in light of our research into previously identified global problems. This will be a "putting it together" effort involving (1) the writing of "chapters" for the books; (2) putting together appendices of bibliographic and data materials; and (3) perhaps the statement of the theory in other media. Throughout the quarter we will emphasize a "futures" component in all of these efforts.

Texts. Buckley, Walter, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1967.

Ewald, William R., (ed.), Environment and Change: The Next Fifty Years, University of Indiana Press, Bloomington, Indiana, 1968.

Klausner, Samuel (ed.), The Study of Total Societies, Doubleday-Anchor, New York, 1967.

Boguslaw, Robert, The New Utopians: A Study of System Design and Social Change, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1965.

Course Outline

Fall Quarter--Tentative Outline

I. Introduction to the general problem--the need to create and communicate new images of the World.

A. The emergence of a world system

1. Suggested readings:

a. Black, C.E., Dynamics of Modernization, pp. 175-99.
b. Beer, Stafford, "The World of the Flesh and the Metal," Nature.
c. Ewald, pp. 341-89.
d. Snyder, R., "The Present Distribution of Social Values Among Nations."
e. Ward, Barbara, Spaceship Earth.
f. Klausner (articles by Boulding and Rapoport).
g. Boguslaw, pp. 1-28.
h. Rosenau, Linkage Politics (article by Singer).
i. Kriesberg, Social Processes in International Relations (article by Angell).
j. Smoker, P., "Nation State Escalation and International Integration," Journal of Peace Research.
k. Galtung, J., "On the Future of the International System", Journal of Peace Research.
l. Campbell, D.T., "Common Fate, Similarity and Other Indices of the Status of Aggregates of Persons as Social Entities," Behavioral Science.

B. The problem of criteria: What sorts of images are we seeking?

1. Discussion of readings--what images come to mind?

2. Discussion of increasing the variety of images available to us.

a. Further readings:

1. Knorr, K. and S. Verba, The International System (article by Riggs).
2. McLuhan, M. and Fiore, War and Peace in the Global Village.
3. DeJouvenal, B., "Political Science and Prevision", American Political Science Review.
4. Rosenau, (ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, (article by Herz: "The Rise and Demise of the Territorial State").
5. Boulding, K., The Image.

C. Contemporary and Alternative Conceptions of the World--Introductory Readings:

1. The Nation-State model(s).

a. Scott, Andrew, The Functioning of the International System.
b. Holsti, K.J., International Politics (chapters 2-3).
c. Russett, Bruce, Trends in World Politics.
d. Farrell, R.B. (ed.), Approaches to Comparative and International Politics (article by Rosenau).

2. Alternative Images.

a. Modelski, G., The Yearbook of World Affairs, 1968.
b. Haas, Ernst, Beyond the Nation-State.
c. Galbraith, The New Industrial State.
d. Marsh, Robert, Comparative Sociology, pp. 82-88.
e. Alger, C.F., "Comparison of Intranational and International Politics," American Political Science Review.
f. Farrell, R.B. (ed.), (article by Raoul Narroll).

D. The Seminar's Task--Discussion of goals and products.

1. The creation of social theory.

2. The collection and production of instructional materials.

3. Preliminary discussion of participants' interests.

E. Supplementary readings for part I.

1. Barkun, Michael, Law Without Sanctions: Order in Primitive Societies and the World Community.

2. Tiryakian, E.A. (ed.), Sociological Theory, Values, and Socio-Cultural Changes.
3. Gouldner and Miller, Applied Sociology.
4. Rosenau,(ed.), Linkage Politics.
5. Van Nieuwenhuijze, Society as Process.
6. Manning, The Nature of International Society.
7. de Chardin, The Future of Man.
8. Kaplan, M., New Approaches to International Relations.

F. Other Suggestions and Notes

II. Alternative theoretical frameworks for the study of large-scale social systems.

A. Institutional frameworks.

1. Suggested readings:

a. Anonymous, International Political Communities, (articles by Etzioni, Haret and Kaplan).
b. Organski, A.K., World Politics.

2. Discussion.

B. Functional, organizational frameworks.

1. Suggested readings:

a. Mitrany, pp. 147-66.
b. International Political Communities, (articles by Haas, and Lindberg).
c. Newcombe, Hanna, "Non-Territorial Forums of World Organization."
d. Smoker, Paul, "Nation State Escalation and International Integration."
e. Claude, Swords into Plowshares.

2. Discussion of functional images.

C. Ecological, total systems orientations.

1. Suggested readings:

a. Shepard, P., and D. McKinley, (eds.), The Subversive Science: Essays Toward an Ecology of Man. pp. 1-10, 99-111, 316-327.
b. Rosenau, (chapter by Sprouts).
c. Smithsonian Annual II, The Fitness of Man's Environment.

2. Discussion of ecological images.

D. General Systems Orientations.

1. Suggested readings:

a. Buckley, Walter, Sociology and Modern Systems Theory.

b. Spengler, J.J., and Duncan, Population Theory and Policy.
c. Deutsch, Karl, Nationalism and Social Communication.

2. Discussion of general systems images.

E. Other orientations.

1. Suggested readings:

a. McLuhan and Fiori.
b. Finklestein, Sidney, Sense and Nonsense of McLuhan.
c. Knorr and Verba, (article by Riggs).

2. Discussion.

F. Selected general source books:

1. Von Bertalanffy, General Systems Theory.
2. Rosenau, Linkage Politics.
3. Haas, Beyond the Nation-State.
4. Moore, Order and Change.
5. Polack, The Image of the Future.

G. Further suggestions and notes.

III. Human needs in the global setting--delineation of general problem areas and their relations to the above images.

A. Categories for problem-oriented theory.

1. Suggested readings:

a. Lasswell and A. Kaplan, Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry.
b. International Peace Research Association, Second Inaugural Report.
c. Ewald, pp. 101-131.
d. Mumford, Lewis, Techniques and Civilization.
e. Boguslaw, pp. 29-160.

2. Discussion of and preliminary definition of global problem areas.

3. Discussion of participants' research interests in relation to problem areas.

B. Survey of specific past and present problems.(Here participants are especially urged to develop their own bibliographies according to the format.)

1. Some source books and document areas.

a. Zawodny, Guide to International Bibliographic Sources.
b. Park, Tong Wang, Guide to Data Sources in International Relations.
c. UNESCO publications
d. ECOSOC publications

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e. Shepard and McKinley, pp. 55-93, 230-41, 245-74, 296-311, 333-337, 341-51, 369-83.

2. Discussion of bibliographic and data needs in relation to collective and individual research goals.

3. Preliminary compilation of global problem variables and indicators.

C. Futures as problem areas--the art and science of conjecture.

1. Introductory futures readings:

a. Ewald, pp. 341-389.
b. Moore, Wilbert E., Order and Change: Essays in Comparative Sociology.
c. Jantsch, Erick, Technological Forecasting in Perspective.
d. Gordon, Theodore J., The Future.
e. Helmer, Olaf, Social Technology.
f. Mead, Margaret, "The Future as the Basis for Establishing a Shared Culture", Daedalus.
g. Smoker, Paul, "Simulation for Social Anticipation and Creation", American Behavioral Scientist.
h. Sorokin, Pitrim A., The Basic Trends of Our Times.
i. Waskow, Arthur, "Looking Forward: 1999. Who Plans Your Future?" New University Thought.
j. Winthrop, Henry, "The Sociologist and the Study of the Future", The American Sociologist.
k. Young, Michael (ed.), Forecasting and the Social Sciences.

2. Do we need new indicators? New concepts? How would we change our theories of global society?

IV. General discussion of research plans (and by this time hopefully research designs) for winter quarter.

A. How do our individual efforts fit together?

B. Planning the workshops?

V. Discussion of elements in a general theory of global society.

A. Suggested outline for discussion:

1. Conceptual apparatus (frameworks review)
2. Referential meanings (problem review)
3. Measurement (review of indicators)
4. Purposes and goals (interests and ethics)

B. Source Materials:

1. Buckley (review).
2. Van Nieuwenhuijze.
3. Ulich (ed.), Education and the Idea of Mankind.
4. Hoselitz (ed.), Economics and the Idea of Mankind.
5. Lasswell and Kaplan (review).

VI. A preliminary book outline? Concluding remarks.

DESIGNING WORLD ORDER MODELS
(Political Science 631)

James Dator and George Kent
Spring 1973

Dept. of Political Science
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii

The major social problems of violence, poverty, injustice, and ecological deterioration are in many ways closely interconnected and global in scope. We should understand these issues, and beyond that we should also work at formulating and evaluating new political, social, and economic structures for the world of the future. That is, we should be prepared to design large-scale social systems. The purpose of this course is to show how the global relationships of the future world can be designed to fulfill chosen values.

Rather than advocate any particular models, emphasis will be placed on the techniques of world order design. We will be concerned with the ideas and orientations of futuristics, prescriptive policy analysis, techniques of social forecasting, the use and construction of models in the social sciences, and methods of social system design. Design work is heavily value-laden, especially in social and political design, so the role of values will be given particularly close attention.

The class will be run as a seminar, with each student responsible for reporting on all or a part of at least one of the seven major sections into which the course is divided. This report is to be oral, and no written record of it need be submitted. Of course, notes may be prepared for the benefit of fellow students.

In addition, each student is expected to submit a final, written paper which describes that individual's own world order model, developed on the basis of the techniques and values and ideas which are examined in the seminar. Even if it is not formulated in full and complete detail, the model should clearly show that the student has seriously attempted to master the methods of world order model design which serve as the focus of the seminar.

I. PURPOSE AND PLAN. Introduction to course. Purpose. Topic sequence. Procedures. Assig[illegible]. Experimental nature of course. Definition of world order models design.

Williams, "Inventing a Future Civilization."
Targ, "Social Science and a New Social Order."
Kent, "Political Design."

II. WORLD ORDER MODELS. Demonstration of some illustrative world order models to show what the effort is all about.

Falk, "A New World Order for the 1990s" (Ch. III).
Baldwin, "Thinking about a New World Order..."
Borghese, The Ocean Regime.
Wagar, The City of Man.

VII. SOCIAL SYSTEM DESIGN METHODS. The idea of design. Partitioning the task. Principles-functions-structures. Ends and means. Transition (implementation) strategies. World order design methods. World Order Models Project. Design manuals.

Kent, "Plan for Designing the Future."
Mendlovitz, Memoranda.
Dator, "An Approach to Popular Participation in Forecasting and Designing the Future Hawaii."
Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity.
Studer, "The Dynamics of Behaviour-Contingent Physical Systems."
Studer, "Human Systems Design and the Management of Change."
Falk, "A Prospectus for Transition" (Ch. IV).
Falk, "America's Stake in the Future of World Order" (Ch.V).

Complete Bibliography

Alexander, Christopher, Notes on the Synthesis of Form, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Baldwin, Ian, Jr., "Thinking About a New World Order for the Decade 1990," War/Peace Report, Vol. 10, No. 1 (January 1970), pp. 3-8.

Bell, Daniel, "Twelve Modes of Prediction: A Preliminary Sorting of Approaches in the Social Sciences," pp. 378-408 in Edwards, David V. (ed.), International Political Analysis: Readings, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970.

Bell, Daniel (ed.), Toward the Year 2000: Work in Progress, Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.

Bennis, Warren G.; Benne, Kenneth D.; and Chin, Robert (eds.). The Planning of Change. Second Edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969.

Bhagwati, Jagdish (ed.). Economics and World Order. New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Boguslaw, Robert. The New Utopians: A Study of System Design and Social Change. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965.

Boulding, Elise. "Futuristics and the Imaging Capacity of the West," pp. 29-53 in Maruyama, Magoroh and Dator, James A. (eds.), Human Futuristics. Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, 1971.

Bulletin of Peace Proposals. JX1901 B75.

Chapman, John W., "Political Forecasting and Strategic Planning," International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 3 (September 1971), pp. 317-357.

Choucri, Nazli and North, Robert C., "Dynamics of International Conflict: Some Policy Implications of Population, Resources, and Technology," World Politics, Vol. XXIV, Supplement (Spring 1972), pp. 80-122.

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Clark and Sohn, World Peace through World Law, Introduction.
Charter of the United Nations.

III. PRESCRIPTIVE POLICY ANALYSIS. Structure of prescriptive policy analysis: (1) statement of problem; (2) formulation of alternative responses; (3) selection. Design as a subcategory of prescriptive analysis.

Kent, Prescriptive Policy Analysis.

IV. FACTS. The nature and role of empirical statements in design. The varieties of research and their uses. Forecasting. The varieties of forecasts (e.g., anticipation vs. prediction, conditional prediction). The uses of forecasts. Methods of forecasting. Prognosis: What's the matter? Now? Tomorrow?

Johnson, "Forecasting Methods in Social Sciences."
Gordon, "The Current Methods of Futures Research."
Wright, On Predicting International Relations.
Bell, "Twelve Modes of Prediction...
Falk, "Statist Imperatives in an Era of System..."
Hardin, "Tragedy of the Commons."
Falk, "Trends and Patterns." (Ch. II)
Meadows, Limits to Growth.
Galtung, "Future of the International System."
Tugwell, "World Order and the Future of Underdevelopment."

V.a. VALUES. The nature and roles of values in design. The uses of values, e.g., to motivate the design effort, to help in choosing among alternative proposals. Evaluative analysis.

Falk, "Points of Departure." (Ch. I)
Vickers, Value Systems and Social Process.
Feinberg, The Prometheus Project.
"Goals for Honolulu Governance."

b. Ethical questions. Anti-planning. Elitism. The designer's responsibilities. Participation: merits and modes.

Benveniste, The Politics of Expertise.
Waskow, "Toward a Democratic Futurism."

VI. MODELING. Definitions. Static models. Dynamic models. Descriptive vs. target models. The uses of models generally, and in design. Assessment of usefulness of models.

Dawson, "Simulation in the Social Sciences."
Forrester, World Dynamics.
Specht, "The Why and How of Model Building."
Simon and Newell, "Models: Their Uses and Limitations."
Choucri and North, "Dynamics of International Conflict."
Smoker, "Anarchism, Peace and Control: Some Ideas for Future Experiment."

Dator, James A. "An Approach to Popular Participation in Forecasting and Designing the Future of Hawaii," pp. 131-146 in Maruyama, Magoroh and Dator, James A. (eds.), Human Futuristics. Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, 1971.

Falk, Richard A. This Endangered Planet: Prospects and Proposals for Human Survival. New York: Random House, 1971.

Feinberg, Gerald. The Prometheus Project: Mankind's Search for Long-Range Goals. New York: Anchor Books, 1969.

Forrester, Jay W. World Dynamics. Cambridge, Mass.: Wright-Allen Press, 1971.

Galtung, Johan. "On the Future of the International System." Journal of Peace Research (1967), pp. 305-333. Also in Jungk and Galtung (eds.), Mankind 2000.

Gordon, Theodore J. "The Current Methods of Futures Research," in Somit, Albert (ed.), Political Science and the Study of the Future, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971, and in Toffler, Alvin (ed.), The Futurists, New York: Random House, 1972.

Hardin, Garrett. "The Tragedy of the Commons," Science, Vol. 162 (1968), pp. 1243-1248. Also pp. 367-381 in Hardin, Garrett (ed.), Population, Evolution, and Birth Control, San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Co., 1969.

Hemleben, Sylvester John, Plans for World Peace Through Six Centuries, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Johnston, Denis F., "Forecasting Methods in the Social Sciences," International Futures Research Conference, Kyoto, 1970.

Jungk, Robert and Galtung, Johan (eds.), Mankind 2000, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969.

Kahn, Herman, "The Alternative World Futures Approach," pp. 83-136 in Kaplan, Morton A. (ed.), New Approaches to International Relations, New York: St.Martin's Press, 1968.

Kent, George, "Prescribing Foreign Policy," University of Hawaii: Dimensionality of Nations Project, Research Report No. 59, January 1972.

Kent, George, "Plan for Designing the Future," University of Hawaii: Dimensionality of Nations Project, Research Report No. 60, January 1972.

Kent, George, "Political Design", University of Hawaii: Dimensionality of Nations Project, Research Report No. 63, July 1972.

Manuel, Frank E. (ed.), Utopias and Utopian Thought, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Meadows, Donella H., Meadows, Dennis L., Randers, Jorgen, and Behrens, Wm. W. III, The Limits to Growth, New York, Universe Books, 1972.

McHale, John, The Future of the Future, New York: George Braziller, 1969.

Newcombe, Hanna, "Alternative Approaches to World Government," Peace Research Reviews, Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 1967), pp. 1-84.

Roland, Jon D., "Alternative Paths to World Order," The Futurist, Vol. V, No. 4 (August 1971), pp. 155-156.

Skinner, B.F., Beyond Freedom and Dignity, New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1972.

Smoker, Paul, "Anarchism, Peace and Control: Some Ideas for Future Experiment," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Vol. XVI (1971), pp. 95-107. Also in Peace Research Reviews, Vol. IV, No. 4 (February 1972), pp. 52-69.

Specht, R.D., "The Nature of Models," pp. 211-227 in Quade, E.S. and Boucher, W.I. (eds.), Systems Analysis and Policy Planning: Applications in Defense, New York: American Elsevier, 1968.

Sprout, Harold and Sprout, Margaret, Toward a Politics of the Planet Earth, New York: Von Nostrand-Reinhold, 1971.

Studer, Raymond G., "Human Systems Design and the Management of Change," General Systems, Vol. XVI (1971), pp. 131-143.

Studer, Raymond G., "The Dynamics of Behaviour-Contingent Physical Systems," pp. 55-70 in Ward, Geoffrey and Ward, Anthony (eds.), Design Methods in Architecture, Wittenborn, New York, 1969.

Targ, Harry, "Social Science and a New Social Order," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 3-4 (1971), pp. 207-220.

Tugwell, Franklin, World Order and the Future of Underdevelopment: An Exploration in Projective Analysis, Second Draft June, 1971.

Vickers, Geoffrey, Value Systems and Social Process, London: Penguin, 1970.

Wagar, W. Warren, The City of Man, Baltimore: Penguin, 1963.

Wagar, W.Warren, Building the City of Man, New York: Grossman, 1971.

Waskow, Arthur I., "Towards a Democratic Futurism," Ch. 15 in Waskow, Running Riot, N.Y.: Herder & Herder, 1970. Also in Toffler, Alvin (ed.), The Futurists, New York: Random House, 1972.

Waskow, Arthur I., "Looking Forward: 1999," pp. 78-98 in Jungk and Galtung (eds.), Mankind 2000.

Williams, Charles W., Jr., "Inventing a Future Civilization," The Futurist, Vol. VI, No. 4 (August 1972), pp. 137-141.

Wright, Quincy, On Predicting International Relations: The Year 2000, Denver: University of Denver Monograph Series in World Affairs, 1969.

Wynner, Edith and Lloyd, Georgia, Searchlight on Peace Plans, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1944.

COMPARATIVE SYSTEMS OF WORLD ORDER
(Public Affairs 559)

Richard Falk
Spring 1973

Woodrow Wilson School
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

This seminar is conceived in a very experimental spirit. Its main objective is to work toward the reorientation of mainstream (Morgenthau, Claude) inquiry into international relations by being explicitly systemic, normative, and futurist. To some degree, then, it borrows a perspective from systems theory, from utopography, and from comparative politics. On another level, a focus of this kind reflects certain substantive preoccupations with the waning capacity of the sovereign state to cope with the principal problems of international life; an earlier statement of my own thinking is contained in This Endangered Planet: Prospects and Proposals for Human Survival (1971). On another level, this focus has been a consequence of my role as director of the North American Section of the World Order Models Project during the past several years, an experience that has convinced me of the importance of stimulating preferential models of world order and of analyzing the tactics and strategies for their realization. On still another level, partly as a result of the Indochina War, partly as a result of the efforts by groups such as the Club of Rome or the editorial task force assembled by the English magazine The Ecologist, and partly by an earlier concern for the conditions of enlightened citizenship in the modern world, the world order focus taken in this course reflects a disillusionment with governmental praxis and with governmental solutions for the problems of the present period. On a further level, the material considered and the orientation adopted exhibits a skepticism about the sufficiency of reason and the rational intellect for either understanding the problems or conceiving the appropriate lines of response and, hence, there is evident a receptivity to the poet's sensibility and a commitment to the search for modes of rigor that are neither hostile nor subservient to various types of behaviorism; "scientific" inquiry for this kind of subject-matter is, at best, a metaphor.

Obviously, such a broad canvas can only be incompletely filled. It seems possible, however, to depict and develop such an orientation toward this subject-matter by sampling some relevant literature that illustrates the assertions made in the preceding paragraphs and testing them by discussion and exposure to contrary positions. This testing process will require several weeks and will constitute the first principal portion of the course. The second part will concentrate upon the Beres-Targ manuscript as one effort to bring coherence into world order studies. The third principal portion will attempt to bring this general orientation to bear in relation to some of the materials generated by the World Order Models Project.

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Finally, a note on ideology. The phrase "world order" has some unfortunate connotations: it seems static, unrelated to the pursuit of justice, and without any concern with the creation of a global community based on notions of solidarity and participation. Perhaps phrases such as "global community values" or "terrestrial unity" are more suitable than "world order," but it seems important to abide by accepted terminological usage, and there is a developing concern on the part of students of international affairs with what has been generally identified as "world order studies." Indeed, such an identification has been generally viewed as a progressive development within academic circles--bringing normative concerns to bear on international relations and political and futurist concerns to bear on international law and organization. In every sense, the rubric "world order" tries to get away from earlier notions of "world peace through world law" or from the sinister romantic ideas that the fulfillment of human destiny in political terms necessarily implies a world state or empire.

We will emphasize two goals in the work of the seminar: first, a coherent and appropriate framework of inquiry; secondly, images of alternative world order systems and tests of their relative performance as assessed by specified criteria. In pursuit of these goals there will be great flexibility and, hopefully, much interaction. In this sense, we shall aim to initiate a process of concern which, if valid, should never terminate in the student's mind.

The University Store has on hand the following books which it might be useful to purchase in connection with this course:

W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man (paper)
U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's , President Nixon's IIIrd Report to Congress, Feb. 9, 1972
Van Rensselaer Potter, Bioethics (paper)
William Irwin Thompson, At the Edge of History (paper)
Doris Lessing, Briefing for a Descent into Hell (paper)
"Conditions of World Order," Daedalus, Spring, 1966 (paper)
Donella Meadows and others, The Limits to Growth (paper)
Malcolm Slesser, The Politics of Environment: A Guide to Scottish Thought and Action (paper)

Part One: Introductory Perspectives

1. Conventional Images of the Future of World Order: An American Perspective
   Henry Kissinger, "Central Issues of American Foreign Policy," in Agenda for the Nation (ed. Kermit Gordon)
   Richard M. Nixon, "World and U.S. Problems: Freedom, Opportunity, and Concern," Address to Midwestern Newspaper Executives, Kansas City, Mo., July 6, 1971
   W.W. Rostow, "The Great Transition: Tasks of the First and Second Postwar Generation," Dept. of State Bulletin, Vol. LVI, March 27, 1967, pp. 491-504

II. Some Non-American Attitudes Toward World Order
   David Nicol, "Toward a World Order: An African Viewpoint," in Conditions of World Order, Daedalus, Spring 1966, pp. 674-693

"The Arusha Declaration," Julius Nyerere, President, Republic of Tanzania
"Declaration of Havana," excerpts, Feb. 4, 1962
Address to the UN General Assembly, Salvador Allende, President, Republic of Chile, Dec. 4, 1972
"The Search for International Order," Lecture, Ambassador Sergio Armando Frazao (Brazil), June 9, 1972
"Declaration on the Third World and the Human Environment," Oi Committee International, Stockholm, June 1972
Paul Mus, "Buddhism and World Order," Daedalus, Summer 1966, pp. 813-827
*F.S.C. Northrop, The Taming of Nations
*Tariq Ali, ed., The New Revolutionaries
*Paul Sigmund,ed., The Ideologies of the Developing Nations, 2nd ed.
*William Lutz and Harry Brent, eds., On Revolution

III. Toward a Conception of World Order

"Conditions of World Order," Daedalus, Spring 1966, pp. 455-529; 607-626
H. Bull, "Order v. Justice in International Society," Political Studies, Vol. XIX, 1971, pp. 269-283
O.R. Young, "On International Order," (mimeograph)
Saul H. Mendlovitz, "Definition of World Order" and "Matrix for the Study of World Order"

IV. Naive and Skeptical Images of World Order Reform

Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law, 3rd rev. ed., 1966, pp. XI-LIV
F. H. Hinsley, Power and the Pursuit of Peace, pp. 1-9, 275-345
*Walter C. Schiffer, The Legal Community of Mankind, pp. 3-15, 278-301
Raymond Aron, Peace and War, pp. 703-766
Stanley Hoffmann, "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation-State and the Case of Western Europe," Daedalus, Summer 1966, pp. 862-915

V. Overview

Louis Rene Beres and Harry R. Targ, Reordering the Planet Constructing Alternative Futures
Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man
*Aurelio Peccei, The Chasm Ahead
*Richard A. Falk, This Endangered Planet
*John Maddox, The Doomsday Syndrome
*Harold and Margaret Sprout, Towards the Politics of Planet Earth

Part Two: Elements of a Framework for the Study of Comparative Systems of World Order

VI. A Systemic Focus

Aron, Peace and War, pp. 94-124
*Richard N. Rosecrance, Action and Reaction in World Politics, pp. 1-215
K. J. Holsti, International Politics, 2nd ed., pp. 29-98
R.A. Falk, The Status of Law in International Society, pp. 554-569

VII. The Relevant Agenda

Donella Meadows and others, The Limits to Growth
"Blueprint for Survival," (Report by the Editors of The Ecologist)
Carl Kaysen, "The Computer that Printed Out W*O*L*F*," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 50, (July 1972), pp. 37-44
*Lester R. Brown, World Without Boundaries
*Paul R. Ehrlich and Ann H. Ehrlich, Population, Resources, and Environment, 2nd rev. ed.
*Barry Commoner, The Closing Circle
*G. Tyler Miller, Jr., Replenish the Earth: A Primer on Human Ecology

VIII. A Normative Orientation

Van Rensselaer Potter, Bioethics
Margaret Mead, "Towards More Vivid Utopias," Science, Vol. 126 Nov. 8, 1957, pp. 957-961
*Aron, Peace and War, pp. 575-635
*Myres S. McDougal, Studies in World Public Order
*Stanley Hoffmann, "International Organization and the International System," International Organization, Vol. XXIV, 1970, pp. 389-413

IX. Expanding Horizons of Discovery: The Political Relevance of Imagination

William Irwin Thompson, At the Edge of History
Doris Lessing, Briefing for a Descent into Hell
*F. Dostoyevsky, The Possessed
William Irwin Thompson, "Three Planetary Vistas," (xerox)
Elise Boulding, "Futurology and the Imaging Capacity of the West," (xerox)
*Herman Kahn and Anthony Wiener, The Year 2000; pp. 1-65, 118-184
*Alvin Toffler, Future Shock
*John McHale, The Future of the Future
*Z. Brzezinski, Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technetronic Era
*Gopi Krishna, The Biological Basis of Religion and Genius (inc. introd. by Carl von Weizäcker)
*Walker Percy, Love in the Ruins
*Paolo Soleri, Arcology: The City in the Image of Man

Part Three: The World Order Models Project (WOMP)**

X. Background of WOMP

S.H. Mendlovitz and Thomas G. Weiss, "A Framework for the Policy Studies of Global Peace and Justice," (mimeograph)
Ian Baldwin, Jr., "The World Order Models Project: Toward a Planetary Social Change Movement," (mimeograph)
North American Draft, Chapter I (mimeograph)

XI. Toward a Preferred World: A Model for the 1990's

Indian Draft
African Essay
North American Draft, Chapter III

XII. The Transition Process

The Transition Process
North American Draft, WOMP Chapter IV

Malcolm Slessor, The Politics of Environment: A Guide to Scottish Thought and Action
Saul H. Mendlovitz, "Six Scenarios for the Future of World Order"

Part Four: A Final Assessment

XIII. Two Futures for America

U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's, A Report to the Congress by Richard M. Nixon, Feb. 9, 1972
North American Draft, WOMP, Chapter V

**The complete texts of the World Order Models Project will be published in 1974. For further details, contact the Institute for World Order.

SEMINAR: THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ORDER
(Politics 545)

Richard A. Falk
Fall 1972

Woodrow Wilson School
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

This seminar will emphasize the role of norms in international life. Such an emphasis is highly selective, given the vast range of potential subject-matter. The justification of this emphasis is to encourage an understanding of law's distinctive, if limited, role in the international system. I would suggest that those students with no prior background in international law read one introductory book early in the semester. I would also ask, as background and context, that you read my book, This Endangered Planet, and a collection of essays Edward Kent, ed., Revolution and the Rule of Law.

Texts:

Louis Henkin, How Nations Behave, Praeger, paper
Falk and Mendlovtiz, The Strategy of World Order, Vol. II, World Law Fund
Gerhard von Glahn, Law Among Nations: An Introduction to Public International Law, Macmillan
Falk, This Endangered Planet, Vintage, paper
Edward Kent, ed., Revolution and the Rule of Law

Course Outline:

I. The Place of Norms in International Life: The Fundamental Issues of Substance and Structure

Raymond Aron, Peace and War: A Theory of International Relations, pp. 575-635
Quincy Wright, The Role of Law in the Elimination of War
G. von Glahn, Law Among Nations, pp. 516-538
*Robert Osgood and Robert W. Tucker, Force, Order, and Justice, pp. 195-247
*K.J. Holsti, International Politics, 2nd ed., pp. 401-441

Part One: Contemporary Framework

II. The Relevance of Norms to the Conduct of Statecraft: The Tensions between Rhetoric and Reality

Miles O. Copeland, The Game of Nations, pp. 9-13
*Osgood and Tucker, pp. 248-359

Louis Henkin, How Nations Behave, pp. 3-28
Graham T. Allison and Morton H. Halperin, "Bureaucratic Politics: A Paradigm and Some Policy Implications," World Politics, Vol. 24, pp. 40-79
*Telford Taylor, Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy
*Robert Minear, Victors' Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial

III. The Distinctive Character of International Law: Horizontal Normative Order

Gerhard von Glahn, Law Among Nations, 2nd ed., pp. 3-9
Gidon Gottlieb, "The Nature of International Law: Toward a Second Concept of Law," in Black and Falk, The Future of the International Legal Order, Vol. IV, pp. 331-383
H.L.A. Hart, The Concept of Law, pp. 208-231
*Morton A. Kaplan and Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, "Law in the International Community," in Falk and Mendlovitz, eds., The Strategy of World Order, Vol. II, pp. 19-43
*Michael Barkun, Law Without Sanctions, pp. 1-35
*James B. Scott, "The Legal Nature of International Law," Columbia Law Review, Vol. 5, pp. 124

IV. An Appropriate Outlook: The Issue of Jurisprudence Orientation (or How to think about legal norms in international life?)

Hans Kelsen, Principles of International Law, 2nd ed., (R.W. Tucker), pp. 3-87
Myers S. McDougal, "Some Basic Theoretic Concepts about International Law: A Policy Oriented Framework of Inquiry," in Falk and Mendlovitz, II, pp. 116-133
Falk, The Status of Law in International Society, pp. 41-59
*J.N. Moore, "Prolegomenon to the Jurisprudence of Myres McDougal and Harold Lasswell," in Moore, Law and the Indochina War, pp. 47-78
Myres S. McDougal, Harold D. Lasswell, and Michael Riesman, chap. 3 in Falk and Black, The Future of the International Legal Order
*Kjell Goldmann, International Norms and War between States
*W. Gould and M. Barkun, International Law and the Social Sciences

V. The Distinctive World Setting of International Law

von Glahn, pp. 34-50
Stanley Hoffman, "International Systems and International Law," in Falk and Mendlovitz, II, pp. 134-166
Henkin, 127-175
Falk, "The Interplay of Westphalia and Charter Conceptions of the International Legal Order," in Black and Falk, I, pp. 32-70
Hedley Bull, "The Grotian Conception of International Society," in Herbert Butterfield and Martin Wight, eds., Diplomatic Investigations, pp. 51-73

VI. Socialist States and the International Legal Order

Alexander Yankov, "The System of Socialist States and the International Legal Order" (paper)

Myres McDougal and Harold D. Lasswell, "The Identification and Appraisal of Diverse Systems of Public Order," in Falk and Mendlovitz, II, pp. 45-74
C. Wilfred Jenks, The Common Law of Mankind, pp. 62-172
*Adda Bozeman, The Future of Law in a Multicultural World

VII. The Legal Interaction of East and West on an International Level

Henkin, 216-244
Brezhnev-Nixon Declaration of Principles (Xerox)
Edward T. McWhinney, "Soviet and Western International Law and the Cold War in the Era of Bipolarity," in Falk and Mendlovitz, II, pp. 189-230
Hungdah Chiu, "Communist China's Attitude Toward International Law," American Journal of International Law, Vol. 60, pp. 245-267
*Bernard A. Ramundo, Peaceful Coexistence: International Law in the Building of Communism
*Percy E. Corbett, Law in Diplomacy, esp. Ch. VIII
*James Chieh Hsiung, Law and Policy in China's Foreign Relations

VIII. The Legal Interaction of North and South on an International Level

A.A. Fatourous, "The Participation of the 'New' States in the International Legal Order," in Black and Falk, I, pp. 317-371
J.J.G. Syatauw, "Peaceful Coexistence: The Asian Attitude," in Falk and Mendlovitz, II, pp. 232-242
Oliver J. Lissitzyn, "The Less Developed Nations," in Falk and Mendlovitz, II, pp. 243-268
*Adda Bozeman, The Future of Law in a Multicultural World

Part Two: Fundamental Structure

IX. Sources of International Law

von Glahn, pp. 10-33
Frederick Pollock, "The Sources of International Law," Columbia Law Review, Vol. 2, pp. 511
*Anthony D'Amato, The Concept of Custom in International Law
*Myres S. McDougal, Harold D. Lasswell, and James Miller, Interpretation of Agreements and World Public Order
*Shabtai Rosenne, The Law of Treaties

X. Sanctions in International Law

von Glahn, pp. 52-57
Henkin, pp. 65-83, 206-215
W. Michael Reisman, "Sanctions and Enforcement," in Black and Falk, pp. 273-335
Roger Fisher, "Bringing Law to Bear on Governments," in Falk and Mendlovitz, pp. 75-85
Abram Chayes, "An Inquiry into the Workings of Arms Control Agreements," Harvard Law Review, Vol. 85, pp. 905-969

XI. The Relevance of "Domestic" Agents of Development and Enforcement

Richard B. Lillich, "Domestic Institutions," in Black and Falk, IV, pp. 384-424
*Lawrence R. Velvel, Undeclared War and Civil Disobedience
First National City Bank v. Banco Nacional de Cuba, Law Week, June 7, 1972, pp. 4652-4664
The Shimoda Case in Falk and Mendlovitz, I, pp. 314-359. (For commentary see Falk, "The Shimoda Case: A Legal Appraisal of the Atomic Attacks upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki," in Falk, Legal Order in a Violent World, pp. 374-413)
Richard Bilder, "The Canadian Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act: New Stresses on the Law of the Sea," Michigan Law Review, Vol. 69, pp. 1-54

XII. Actors

von Glahn, pp. 61-88, 187-269
John Norton Moore, "The Role of Regional Arrangements in the Maintenance of World Order," in Black and Falk, III, pp. 122-164
Hans Baade, "Individual Responsibility," in Black and Falk, IV, pp. 291-327
Donald McNemar, "The Future Role of International Institutions," in Black and Falk, IV, pp. 448-479

Part Three: Prospects

XIII. The Changing Setting of International Law

von Glahn, pp. 723-727
Harold and Margaret Sprout, "The Ecological Viewpoint--and Others," Black and Falk, IV, pp. 569-605
Falk, "The Prospects for World Order: Models of the Future," in The Status of Law in International Society, pp. 554-569
Raymond Aron, Peace and War, pp. 703-766
Falk, World Order Models Project, Chs. III and IV (mimeo draft)
*Edward Kent, ed., Revolution and the Rule of Law
*Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law
*Andrei Sakharov, Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom

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* denotes recommended reading

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND WORLD POLITICS
(Government 175a)

Joseph S. Nye
Spring 1971

Dept. of Government
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

Topic Outline and Reading Assignments:

February 9: Why do States Create International Organizations?

Inis Claude, Swords Into Plowshares, 17-50, 344-391
Singer and Wallace, "Intergovernmental Organization in the Global System, 1815-1964," International Organization, Spring, 1970 (skim)

For Later Exploration:
F. Hinsley, Power and the Pursuit of Peace, 190-271
G. Mangone, A Short History of International Organization
D. Mitrany, A Working Peace System

February 16: Case Study: UN Conference on Trade and Development

R. Gardner, "UNCTAD," International Organization (Winter, 1969),99-130
I. Frank, "New Perspectives on Trade and Development," Foreign Affairs (April 1967)
R. Gregg and M. Barkun (eds.), The UN System and Its Functions, 335-368

For Later Exploration:
C. Robertson, "The Creation of UNCTAD," in Robert Cox (ed.), International Organization: World Politics
B. Gosovic, "UNCTAD: North-South Encounter," International Conciliation (May 1968)
J. Nye, "UNCTAD Manuscript" (Borrow from my secretary)
L. Pearson, Partners in Development

February 23: Regional Organizations and Peace

A. Etzioni, The Hard Way to Peace, 173-202
J. Nye (ed.), International Regionalism, 3-105. (Articles by Claude, Pinder, Mitrany, Miller, Connell-Smith)

For Later Exploration:
R. Yalem, Regionalism and World Order, 125-141
J. Nye, Peace in Parts? (To be published in April 1971)

March 2: The Politics of Common Markets

J. Nye (ed.), International Regionalism, 177-230, 269-281, 333-349, 377-427. (Articles by Hoffman, Scheinman, Nye)

For Later Exploration:
International Organization (Autumn 1970), Special Issue
L. Lindberg and S. Scheingold, Europe's Would-Be Polity
A. Hazelwood, African Integration and Disintegration
M. Wionczek (ed.), Latin American Economic Integration

March 9: Collective Security, Sovereign States and Sanctions

F. Walters, A History of the League of Nations, Chapter 53
R. Zacklin, "Challenge of Rhodesia," International Conciliation (November 1969)

For Later Exploration:
I.L. Claude, Power and International Relations
L. Scheinmar and D. Wilkinson, International Law and Political Crisis, 211-273
A. Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration, 167-204, 253-273

March 16: Hour Exam

March 23: United Nations Peacekeeping

David Kay (ed.), The United Nations Political System, 189-279. (Articles by Pearson, Claude, Holmes, Hoffmann, Nicholas)
Lincoln Bloomfield, "The US, USSR and Prospects for Peacekeeping," International Organization (Summer 1970)

For Later Exploration:
Linda Miller (ed.), Dynamics of World Politics, 236-259, 271-294
R. Falk and W. Hanreider, International Law and International Organization, 298-344
U.N. Association, Controlling Conflicts in the 1970s

March 30: Can the U.N. Be Revived?

R. Gardner, "Can the U.N. Be Revived?" Foreign Affairs (July 1970)
R. Gregg and M. Barkun (eds.), The U.N. System and Its Functions, 11-39, 136-154, 208-214
S. Hoffmann "International Organization and the International System," International Organization (Summer 1970)

For Later Exploration:
G. Clark and L. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law, Introduction
G. Kennan, "To Prevent A World Wasteland," Foreign Affairs (April 1970)
U.N., A Study of the Capacity of the U.N. Development System (Jackson Report), Vol. I, Forward and 6-17, 49-55
I.L. Claude, The Changing United Nations
A. Boyd, United Nations: Piety, Truth and Myths
"Issues Before the General Assembly," International Conciliation (September 1970)

April 13: How Interdependent is the World?

E. Morse, "The Politics of Interdependence," International Organization, XXIII (2) (1969), 311-326
K. Deutsch, "The Impact of Communications," in A. Said (ed.), Theory of International Relations, 74-92
K. Waltz, "The Myth of National Interdependence," in C. Kindleberger (ed.), The International Corporation, 205-226
O.R. Young, "Interdependence in World Politics," International Journal (Autumn 1969)

For Later Exploration:
A. Etzioni, The Active Society, Chapter 19
A. Schonfield, Modern Capitalism, 30-54
R. Cooper, The Economics of Interdependence, 3-55

April 20: Transnationalism and International Organization

A. Wolfers, Discord and Collaboration, 3-24
R. Angell, Peace on the March, 1-57
L. White, International Non-Governmental Organizations, 1-16 and skim the rest

For Later Exploration:
C.J. Friedrich, Europe: An Emergent Nation? Chapters 2, 8, 10
L. Kriesberg, "Non-Governmental Organizations," in K. Boulding, Peace and the War Industry, 43-52

April 27: Multi-National Enterprises

R. Vernon, "The Future of the Multinational Enterprise," in C. Kindleberger (ed.), The International Corporation, 373-400
"Notes on the Multi-National Corporation," Monthly Review (October, November 1969)
J. Behrman, National Interests and the Multinational Enterprise, 1-26, 88-126

For Later Exploration:
H. Perlmutter, "The Tortuous Evolution..." Columbia Journal of World Business (January-February 1969)
C. Kindleberger, American Business Abroad
J. Galloway, "Worldwide Corporations and International Integration," International Organization (Summer 1970)

May 4: US Foreign Policy and International Organization

A. Beichman, The Other State Department, Chapters, 2, 4, 6, 13
C.C. O'Brien in Falk and Hanreider (eds.), International Law and International Organization
L. Gordenker, "C.C. O'Brien and the Truth About the U.N.," International Organization (Autumn 1969)
H. Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism, Chapter 4

For Later Exploration:
International Organization (Summer 1969), Special Issue
E. Haas, The Web of Interdependence, Chapters 2, 3
Z. Brzezinski, Between Two Ages, 3-55, 255-309
L. Bloomfield, The UN and US Foreign Policy

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE THIRD WORLD
(Government 573)

L. G. E. Edmondson
Spring 1972

Department of Government
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Course Requirements

This seminar will usually meet each Thursday for 2 to 2 1/2 hours starting at 4:00 P. M. If necessary a few additional sessions will be arranged during tha latter part of the semester. The first seven meetings will involve: (a) introductory lectures, and (b) presentations and discussions of book reviews and brief essays. The remainder of the semester (except the last meeting or two when the major research papers will collectively be discussed) will be spent on discussions of assigned weekly readings or minor research projects, supplemented by occasional lectures.

Students are required to write two papers and to make oral presentations on other topics as assigned while the course is in progress. The first paper due on March 2 will be a brief (ca. six-page) reflective piece on selected definitional or analytic issues; the second (which should not exceed 40 pages) is due by May 4. The latter will represent a substantial proportion of the final grade which will also include evaluations of (a), other written or oral presentations as assigned and (b), quality of contribution to general seminar discussions.

Books Recommended for Purchase

Dumont, Rene, False Start in Africa 2nd ed. rev. (Praeger 1969).
Kay, David A., The New Nations in the United Nations, 1960-1967 (Columbia University Press, 1970).
A Study of the Capacity of the United Nations Development System, vols. I & II (United Nations, 1969). Robert G. A. Jackson, Commissioner. (Cited hereafter as Jackson Report.)
Partners in Development: Report of the Commission on International Development. (Praeger 1969). Lester B. Pearson, Chairman. (Cited hereafter as Pearson Report.)
Green, Reginald and Seidman, Ann, Unity or Poverty? The Economics of Pan-Africanism (Penguin, 1968).

Course Schedule

All references listed in this section should be read in preparation for seminar discussions. Quite a few of the readings in the present section have been reprinted in David A. Kay, ed., The United Nations Political System or in Robert W. Gregg and Michael Barkun, eds., The United Nations System and Its Functions, hereafter cited as Kay Reader and Gregg-Barkun Reader respectively.

1. Organizational Meeting

2-4. Lectures on "The Study Idea and Practice of International Organization."

5-6. Views of the United Nations

(a) Political Process and Evolution. Oral book reviews of:
Bailey, Sydney. The General Assembly of the United Nations and The Secretariat of the United Nations;
Claude, Inis L., Jr. The Changing United Nations;
Eichelberger, Clark M. UN: The First Twenty-Five Years;
Nicholas, H. G. The United Nations as a Political Institution. 4th ed. (1971).

(b) Conference Machinery or Dynamic Instrument? Discussion:
Hammarskjold, Dag. "Two Differing Concepts of United Nations Assayed: Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization. 16 June 1960-15 June 1961." (Title cited from United Nations Review, September, 1961, pp. 12-17; reprinted in International Organization, XIV (autumn 1961), 549-63 and in Kay Reader, 109-126.
Morawiecki, W. "Some Problems Connected with the Organs of International Organizations," International Organization, XIX (autumn 1965), 913-28.

7-8. "Third World," "International Organization," and the Study of the International System.
Discussion of student essays on:
(a) The United Nations and the Study of "International Organizations and International Systems."
(b) The Idea of "Third World": Sociological, Economic, Political Construct(s)?
(c) Non-Alignment as a Distinctive Third World Characteristic
(d) "Third World": A Study in "International Sub-Systems" and "International Regions"?
(e) The Third World and the "Revolution in World Politics."

9. Third World Impact on the Internationalization of Race
This session is specially convened as a joint seminar with Prof. Esman's graduate seminar on "Communalism" to which I have been invited as a guest lecturer on "Some International Relations Aspects of Race Relations." Govt. 573 students will be briefed in advance on some Third World aspects of the subject and others will be raised at various stages of the general lecture.

10. The Politics of Self Determination: Third World-United Nations Roles and Impacts
(a) The Politics of Decolonization Discussion: United Nations Charter, Chaps. 11-13

Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV), 14 December 1960 (consult text in relevent issues of Yearbook of the United Nations or United Nations Review).

El-Ayouty, Yassin. The United Nations and Decolonization: The Role of Afro-Asia, Chaps. 6-8.

Emerson, Rupert. "The United Nations and Colonialism: A Tentative Appraisal," International Organization XIX (Summer 1965), 484-503; reprinted in Norman Padelford and L. Goodrich, eds., The UN in the Balance.

Jacobson, H. K. "The United Nations and Colonialism; A Tentative Appraisal." International Organization, XVI (Winter 1962), 37-56; reprinted in Kay Reader, 302-26.

Kay, The New Nations in the United Nations, Chaps. 4,6.

(b) The United Nations' Role in the Political Evolution of Trust Territories

Each student will consult appropriate literature on the political evolution of a given Trust Territory and report orally on his findings. Relevant guidelines for researching the subject and presenting the findings will be suggested by the instructor. The following should also be read for discussion:

Haas, Ernst B. "The Reconciliation of Conflicting Colonial Policy Aims: Acceptance of the League of Nations Mandate System." International Organization, VI, No. 4 (1952), 521-36.

Haas, "The Attempt to Terminate Colonialism: Acceptance of the United Nations Trusteeship System," International Organization, VII, No. 1 (1953), 1-21; reprinted in Kay Reader, 281-301.

11. Third World Attitudes, Behavior and Influence

(a) Attitudes to International Organization and International Law and Selected Aspects of Behavior

Discussion:

Anand, R. P. "Attitude of the Asian-African States Toward Certain Problems of International Law." International and Comparative Law Quarterly, XV (January 1966).

Friedheim, Robert L. "The 'Satisfied' and 'Dissatisfied' States Negotiate International Law." World Politics, XVIII (October 1965), 20-41; reprinted in Gregg-Barkun Reader, 384-98.

Lissitzyn, Oliver J. "The Less Developed Nations," in Richard Falk and Saul H. Mendlovitz, eds., The Strategy of World Order: Vol. II, International Law, 243-75.

Mazrui, Ali A. "The United Nations and Some African Political Attitudes." International Organization, XVIII (Summer 1964), 499-520; reprinted in Gregg-Barkun Reader, 39-56.

Shihata, Ibrahim. "The Attitude of New States Toward the International Court of Justice." International Organization, XIX (Spring 1965), 203-22.
International Organization, XIX (Summer 1965): or
Padelford, Norman and Goodrich, Leland eds., The UN in the Balance. Essays on "The United Nations and Its Members" by: Hurewitz (Middle East), Karefa-Smart (Africa), Lall (Asia), Wood and Morales (Latin America).

(b) Behavior and Influence Discussion:
Brinkley, George A. "The Soviet Union and the United Nations: The Changing Role of the Developing Countries." Review of Politics, XXXII (January 1970) 91-123.
Kay, The New Nations in the United Nations, Chaps. 1-3, 5,7.
Keohane, Robert O. "Political Influence in the General Assembly." International Conciliation, No. 557 (March 1966), pp. 5-41; these pages reprinted in Gregg-Barkun Reader, 17-69.
Manno, Catherine Senf. "Majority Decisions and Minority Responses in the UN General Assembly." Journal of Conflict Resolution, X, No. 1 (1966), 1-20; reprinted in Gregg-Barkun Reader, 247-65.

12. The Politics of Economic Development: UN-Third World Interests and Interactions

(a) Some Problems of Economic Development: African Experience Discussion:
Dumont, False Start in Africa
Green and Seidman, Unity or Poverty?, Part I (Chaps 1,4); II (1,3); III (1, 3-5); IV.

(b) Aspects of United Nations Role and Function Discussion:
Brennan, G. "The United Nations Development Programme." Year Book of World Affairs, 1970, Vol. 24, 153-69.
Gardner, Richard N. "The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development." International Organization, XXII (Winter 1968), 16-43.
Gregg, Robert W.,"The UN Regional Economic Commissions and Integration in the Underdeveloped Regions." International Organization, XX (Spring 1966), 208-32; reprinted in Gregg-Barkun Reader, 430-50.
Horowitz, Irving Louis. Three Worlds of Development, Chap. 6 on "The United Nations and the Third World: East-West Conflict in Focus"--reprinted in Gregg-Barkun Reader, 350-68.
Karasz, Arthur. "The World Bank and the Third World." Review of Politics, XXXII (October 1970), 476-89.
Kotschnig, Walter M. "The United Nations as an Instrument of Economic and Social Development." International Organization, XXII (Winter 1968), 16-43.

Krasner, Stephen D. "The International Monetary Fund and the Third World." International Organization, XXII (Summer 1968), 670-88.

Walters, Robert S. "International Organizations and Political Communication: The Use of UNCTAD by Less Developed Countries." International Organization, XXV (Autumn 1971), 818-35.

13. The Aid System and the Development System
    (a) The Aid Question: Discussion of the Pearson Report
    (b) Reforming the UN Development Structure: Discussion of Jackson Report, Vol. I, Vol. II (Chaps. 2, 5, Appendix 3; scan Chaps. 7-10).

14. Development Decades: Retrospect and Prospect

    (a) Jackson Report. Discussion continued. Vol. II (Chaps 3-4).
    (b) What Lies Ahead? Discussion:

Asher, Robert E. "Development Assistance in DDII: The Recommendations of Perkins, Pearson, Peterson, Prebisch, and Others." International Organization, XXV (Winter 1971), 97-119.

Gordenker, Leon, and Jacobson, Harold K., "Critical Choices for the UN System: The Second Development Decade." Orbis. XIV (Spring 1970), 43-57.

Jolly, Richard. "The Aid Relationship: Reflections on the Pearson Report," Journal of International Affairs (New York), XXIV, No. 2 (1970).

Nye, Joseph S., Jr. "What Future for UNCTAD?" and comment by Tandon, Y. Mawazo, II (June 1970), 33-38.

Pearson, Lester B. "Conflicting Perspectives on the Development Problem: An Introduction," Journal of International Affairs (New York), XXIV, No.2 (1970).

UN Secretary-General. The United Nations Development Decade: Proposals for Action, New York: 1962. (Reprinted in part in Saul H. Mendlovitz, ed., Legal and Political Problems of World Order, 409-436, which will suffice.)

"An International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Decade." General Assembly Res. 2626 (XXV), 1970; text in UN Monthly Chronicle (November 1970), 105-20.

15. The Politics of Third World-United Nations Contact
    (a) International Organizational Relations: Africa and the UN

Cervanka, Zdenek. The OAU and its Charter; Chap. 5 on "The Relationship Between the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations."

Magee, James. "ECA and the Paradox of African Cooperation." International Conciliation, No. 580 (November 1970), pp. 5-39, 57-64.

Magee, "What Role for ECA--or Pan-Africanism Revisited." Journal of Modern African Studies, IX (May 1971), 73-89.

"ECA Opposes Jackson Report." West Africa, No. 2766 (13 June 1970).

(b) Concluding Assessments

Heathcote, Nina. "United Nations and Nation-Building." International Journal, XX (Winter 1964-65), 20-33; reprinted in Kay Reader, 351-62.

Sens, Andrew D. "The Newly Independent States, the United Nations, and Some Thoughts on the Nature of the Development Process." Journal of Politics, XXX (February 1968), 114-36.

Sharp, Walter P. "International Bureaucracies and Political Development": Chap. 13 in Joseph La Palombara, ed., Bureaucracy and Political Development.

UNITAR (United Nations Institute of Training and Research). Status and Problems of Very Small States and Territories; pp. 7-21, 121-55.

16. Discussion of Major Research Papers.

INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
World Politics on an Endangered Planet
(Political Science 230)

Louis Rene Beres
Spring 1973

Department of Political Science
Purdue University
West Lafayette, Indiana

Political Science 230 is designed to acquaint beginning students with a creative and theoretical understanding of world politics. To accomplish this objective, all of us will consider a particularly wide variety of writings pertaining to the major dimensions of danger in the State of Nations. Indeed, we will encounter perspectives that derive from science fiction, futurology, and utopian sources as well as from more orthodox materials in the field. In this way our minds may range freely in coming to grips with some of the most bewildering problems that confront this endangered planet.

A Note on Procedure

Political Science 230 is conceived as a sustained investigation of selected problems and approaches in the field of international relations. The readings and class sessions represent a pair of closely-linked, interdependent parts. For this reason, students are expected to partake of both parts on a regular basis.

Examinations

There will be an in-class midterm and a special kind of paper.

Conferences

I look forward to regular office visits from each of you during the semester. My office is at University Hall, Room 326.

Books

The following paperback books are recommended for purchase:

William Golding, Lord of the Flies
David Brook, ed., Search for Peace
Kenneth Waltz, Man, The State and War
W. Warren Wagar, The City of Man
W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man
J. E. Dougherty and R. L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., Contending Theories of International Relations
R. A. Falk, This Endangered Planet
F. H. Hinsley, Power and the Pursuit of Peace
Alvin Toffler, ed., The Futurists

SCHEDULE OF READINGS AND CLASS SESSIONS

Topic I: On the Study of International Relations

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, Contending Theories of International Relations, pp. 14-29.
F. H. Hinsley, Power and the Pursuit of Peace, Part I, pp. 1-149.

Topic II: On the History of the State of Nations

David Brook, ed., Search for Peace, Part II, pp. 27-47.
F. H. Hinsley, Power and the Pursuit of Peace, Parts II and III, pp. 153-367.
Louis R. Beres, The Management of World Power, pp. 47-55.

Topic III: The State of Nations as State of Nature

William Golding, Lord of the Flies.
Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, Chapter XIII.
Kenneth N. Waltz, Man, The State and War, Chapters VI and VII.
Lassa Oppenheim, "The Problem of Sovereignty in the Twentieth Century," in David Brook, ed., Search for Peace, pp. 98-99.
James L. Brierly, "The Law of Nations," in Brook, ed., pp. 265-268.

Topic IV: The Conceptual Underpinnings of International Relations Study

Any one of the following:

Robert E. Osgood and Robert W. Tucker, Force, Order, and Justice, pp. 3-40.
Alexander Passerin D'Entreves, The Notion of the State.
John R. Champlin, ed., Power.
Karl Deutsch, The Analysis of International Relations, pp. 12-20.
Raymond Aron, Peace and War, pp. 47-70.

MODERN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Topic V: The First Great Debate: Idealism vs. Realism

Emery Reeves, "The Anatomy of Peace," in Brook, ed., pp. 358-363.
Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 6-13 and 65-101.

plus one of the following:

Erich Fromm, May Man Prevail.
E. H. Carr, The Twenty Years Crisis.
Hans J. Morgenthau, Scientific Man vs. Power Politics
Reinhold Niebuhr, The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness
George F. Kennan, Memoirs: 1925-50.

Topic VI: The Second Great Debate: Science vs. Traditionalism in International Relations Study

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 36-41.
Hedly Bull, "International Theory: The Case for a Classical Approach," World Politics, April 1966.
Morton Kaplan, "The New Great Debate: Traditionalism vs. Science in International Relations," World Politics, October 1966.

SOME SELECTED APPROACHES TO ANALYSIS

Topic VII: Historical and Comparative Approaches

Any one of the following:

W. H. McNeil, The Rise of the West, chs. 11-13.
A. B. Bozeman, Politics and Culture in International History, pp.3-14, and chs. 6-13.
Geoffrey Barraclough, An Introduction to Contemporary History.
J. D. Singer and M. Small, "The Composition and Status Ordering of the International System, 1815-1940," World Politics, Jan. 1966, pp. 236-82.
R. N. Rosecrance, Action and Reaction in World Politics.

Topic VIII: The Ecological Perspective

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 46-64.
Harold and Margaret Sprout, The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs, with Special Reference to International Politics.
Halford MacKinder, Democratic Ideals and Reality.
Harold and Margaret Sprout, "Environmental Factors in the Study of International Politics," in James N. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, pp. 41-56.
Richard A. Falk, This Endangered Planet.
Kenneth Boulding, The Meaning of the Twentieth Century.
Harrison Brown, The Challenge of Man's Future.
Amitai Etzioni, The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Processes.
Rene Dubos, Man Adapting.

Topic IX: The Decision-Making Approach to International Politics

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 312-344.
R. C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and B. Sapin, Foreign-Policy Decision-Making.
_____, "The Decision-Making Approach to the Study of International Politics," in James N. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, pp. 199-206.
David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, "Types of Decision-Making," in Rosenau, ed., pp. 207-216.
Sidney Verba, "Assumptions of Rationality and Non-Rationality in Models of the International System," in Rosenau, pp. 217-231.
A. C. Jeffrey, The Logic of Decision.

Topic X: Game Theory: On Strategy and the Strategists

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 345-378
Thomas S. Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict.
Anatol Rapoport, Fights, Games, and Debates.
John C. Harsanyi, "Game Theory and the Analysis of International Conflict," in Rosenau, ed., pp. 370-379
Morton A. Kaplan, "A Note on Game Theory and Bargaining," in Kaplan, ed., New Approaches to International Relations, pp. 483-518

Topic XI: Systematic Approaches

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 102-137
Oran R. Young, "A Systemic Approach to International Politics," Research Monograph No. 33. Princeton Center of International Studies. or
Oran R. Young, Systems of Political Science, Chapter 2
Morton Kaplan, System and Process in International Politics. or
Charles McClelland, Theory and the International System. or
Andrew Scott, The Functioning of the International System. or
Klaus Knorr and Sidney Berba, eds., The International System.

THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Topics XII-XV offer four dimensions for characterizing world politics. As you complete each of these topics, 1) characterize the extant system of world politics in terms of the appropriate dimension, and 2) recommend an improved (with respect to war avoidance) system of world politics in terms of that dimension. These will be discussed in class and evaluated.

Topic XII: The Actors in World Politics

Louis Rene Beres, "The Actors and World Order,"

Oran R. Young, "The Actors in World Politics," in James N. Rosenau, ed., The Analysis of International Politics.

Topic XIII: The Structure of World Politics.

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 130-137
Louis Rene Beres, "Bipolarity, Multipolarity and the Reliability of Alliance Commitments," The Western Political Quarterly, December, 1972; or as manuscript in RBR

Topic XIV: The Processes of World Politics: The Overarching Logic of Deterrence

Beres, pp. 56-80
Hobbes, Leviathan, Chapter XIII

plus one of the following:

Bernard Brodie, Strategy in the Missile Age.

_____, "The Anatomy of Deterrence," in John Garnett, ed., Theories of Peace and Security, pp. 87-105
Glenn Snyder, "Deterrence" A Theoretical Introduction," in Garnett, pp. 106-112
Bruce Russett, "The Calculus of Deterrence," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, VII, 1963, 97-109; reprinted in Rosenau, IPFP, pp. 359-369
Raymond Aron, Peace and War, Chapter XIV
Roger Fisher, International Conflict for Beginners.
Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 254-260

plus one of the following:

Dante, On World Government.
S. J. Hemleben, Plans For World Peace Through Six Centuries.
Kant, Perpetual Peace.
Emery Reeves, Anatomy of Peace.
Inis Claude, Power and International Relations, Chapters 6 and 7
G. Clark and L. Sohn, World Peace Through World Law.

Topic XV: The Context of World Politics: Nuclear Weapons Technology

Beres, pp. 112-133
Brook, Chapter VI, pp. 108-193

THE MANAGEMENT OF WORLD POWER

Topic XVI: Legal Order in a Violent World

Brook, Chapter VIII, pp. 263-297
Falk and Hanrieder, pp. 15-44

Also, browse through any one of the following:

P. E. Corbett, Law and Society in the Relations of States.
Hans Kelsen, Principles of International Law.
H. L. A. Hart, The Concept of Law.
W. Coplin, The Functions of International Law.
W. Frieddmann, The Changing Structure of International Law.

Topic XVII: Three Images of War

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, pp. 196-232
Kenneth Waltz, Man, the State and War, Chapters I, II and III, pp. 1-79
Brook, Chapter I, pp. 1-26
Leon Bramson and George Goethals, ed., War.
Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative.
Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, Chapter XIII

WORLD ORDER MODELS PROJECT

Reordering the Planet: Constructing Alternative World Futures

From here until the conclusion of the course, each topic will be discussed generally and in committee. At the end of the course, each committee will be expected to produce a document which offers a design or blueprint for an improved system of world order. Each document will be evaluated in terms of its 1) desirability (from the standpoint of alleviating major dangers) and 2) feasibility. To this end, each student should make himself or herself responsible for a particular dimension (or dimensions) of planetary danger. For purposes of course evaluation, an explanation of these individual responsibilities should be made explicit in the document.

Topic XVIII: The Problem, or What's Wrong With the World

W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man.
Richard A. Falk, This Endangered Planet.
Voltaire, Candide.
Kenneth Boulding, The Meaning of the Twentieth Century.
Dennis L. Meadows, The Limits to Growth.
Documents of the Institute for World Order World Order Models Project

Topic XIX: Some Interesting Ideas for Planning the Future

Alvin Toffler, ed., The Futurists.
W. Warren Wagar, Building the City of Man.
Aldous Huxley, Island.
Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward.
B. F. Skinner, Walden Two.
James Hilton, Lost Horizon.
Voltair, Candide.

Topic XX: Matters of Method

Louis Rene Beres, "On Studying about World Order: A Plea for Systematic Inquiry."

Topic XXI: Matters of Substance, The City of Man: The Idea of Human Unity and Cosmopolis

Louis Rene Beres, "The Errors of Cosmopolis."
W. Warren Wagar, The City of Man.

Topic XXII: Must We Transform the Individual?

Goethe, Faust.
Hermann Hesse, Demian.
J. F. Steiner, Treblinka.
Charles A. Reich, The Greening of America.
Alfin Toffler, Future Shock.
Erich Kahler, The Tower and the Abyss.
Thomas Mann, Mario and the Magician.
Franz Kafka, The Metamorphosis
Sri Aurobindo, The Mind of Light.

Topic XXIII: The Human Aspect of Conflict

Any one of the following:

E. M. Remarque, All Quiet on the Western Front.
Goethe, Egmont.
Euripides, Troades
Hersey, Hiroshima
Heller, Catch-22
Crane, The Red Badge of Courage.

Topic XXIV: Committee Reports on New Systems of World Order

These reports should represent a synthesis of recommendations dealing with individual dimensions of planetary danger. Moreover, each committee must supplement its presentation with a multimedia illustration of world order, present and proposed. In this connection, students are urged to consider Marshall McLuhan, War and Peace in the Global Village and Buckminster Fuller, I Seem to be a Verb.

METHODS SEMINAR IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Nazli Choucri
Spring 1973

Department of Political Science
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

I. International Relations Methodology: Introductio..

Alker, Hayward R., "The Long Road to International Relations Theory: Problems of Statistical Nonadditivity," World Politics, Vol. XVIII, July 1966, No. 4, pp. 623-656.

Lakatos, Imre and Alan Musgrave, Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Boulding, Kenneth, "General Systems Theory--The Skeleton of Science," reprint from Management Science, 2, 197-208, 1956.

II. The History of International Relations: Field Seminar

Tanter, Raymond and Richard H. Ullman (eds.), Theory and Policy in International Relations, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Dougherty, James E. and Pflatzgraff, Robert L. Jr., Contending Theories of International Relations, New York: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1971, Part 1: "Theoretical Approaches to International Relations," pp. 1-45.

Kay, David A. and Eugene B. Skolnikoff (eds.), World Eco-Crisis: International Organizations in Response, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972.

III. Methodological Controversies in International Relations: Some Major Problems

Alker, Hayward R., Jr., "Statistics and Politics: The Need for Causal Analysis," in Seymour Martin Lipset, (ed.), Politics and the Social Sciences. New York: Oxford Press, 1969, pp. 244-313.

Mueller, John E. (ed.), Approaches to Measurement in International Relations, New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1969.

Alker, Hayward R., Jr., (1970), "Multivariate Methods for Political Analysis: A Review and Some Proposals," paper presented at International Political Science Association VIII World Conference at Munich, Aug. 30-Sept. 5, 1970.

Simon, Herbert, Model of Man, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957.

Bobrow, Davis B., "Ecology of International Games: Requirements for a Model of the International System," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Volume XI, 1969, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Rapoport, Anatol, "Modern Systems Theory--An Outlook for Coping with Change," General System Yearbook, Vol. XV, 1970, pp. 15-26.

IV. National Politics and Foreign Policy: Alternative Modes of Analysis

Russett, Bruce M. (ed.), Peace, War and Numbers, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1972.

Alcock, Norman Z., "An Empirical Measure of Internation Threat: Some Preliminary Implications for the Middle East Conflict," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Vol. XV, 1970, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, pp. 51-72.

Zinnes, Dina A., "An Analytical Study of Balance of Power Theories," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 4, 1967, pp. 270-287.

Hanrieder, Wolfram F., Comparative Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays. New York: David McKay, 1971, Ch. 5.

V. National Politics and Foreign Policy: Continued

Dowty, Alan, "Conflict in War Potential Politics: An Approach to Historical Macro-analysis," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Vol. XIII, 1970, pp. 85-104.

Newcombe, Alan and James Wert, An Inter-nation Tensiometer for the Prediction of War, Canada: Canadian Peace Research Institute, 1972.

Reinton, Per Olav, "Inequality in International Systems of Nations," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Vol. XI, 1969, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Smoker, Paul, "Anarchism, Peace and Control: Some Ideas for Future Experiment," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Vol. XVI, 1971, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Rosenau, James N. and Gary D. Hoggard, "Foreign Policy Behavior in Dyadic Relationships: Testing a Pre-Theoretical Extension," A paper for the Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico, March 17, 1971.

Ruggies, John Gerard, "The Structuring of International Organization: Contingency, Complexity, and Post-modern Form," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Vol. XVIII, 1972, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvnia, pp. 73-92.

Russett, Bruce M., What Price Vigilance?, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Smoker, Paul, "Fear in the Arms Race: A Mathematical Study," in James N. Rosenau, International Politics and Foreign Policy (second edition) New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, pp. 573-582.

VI. The Analysis of Complex Systems: Econometric Models and Methods

Choucri, Nazli, "Applications of Econometric Analysis to Forecasting in International Politics," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, in press (mimeo.)

Bremer, Stuart J., David Singer and Urs Luterbacher, "Crowding and Combat in Animal and Human Societies: The European Nations, 1816-1965," Nov. 1971, University of Michigan.

Fisher, Franklin M. and Albert Ando, "Two Theorems on Ceteris Paribus in the Analysis of Dynamic Systems," American Political Science Review, 56, March 1962, pp. 118-113.

Milstein Jeffrey, "Soviet and American Influences on the Arab-Israeli Arms Race: A Quantitative Analysis," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Vol. XV, 1970, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, pp. 6-27.

Choucri, Nazli, "Defense Budgets and the Middle East Conflict: A Commentary," Peace Research Society (International) Papers, Vol. XV, 1970, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, pp. 28-30.

Blalock, Hubert M., Theory Construction: From Verbal to Mathematical Formulations, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

VII. The Behavior of Complex Systems: System Dynamics

Forrester, Jay W., "Counterintuitive Behavior of Social Systems," Technology Review, Vol. 73, No. 3, January 1971, pp. 1-16.

Choucri, Nazli, Michael Laird and Dennis L. Meadows, "Resource Scarcity and Foreign Policy: A Simulation Model of International Conflict," Cambridge: MIT Center for International Studies c/72-9, 1972.

Meadows, Donella, et al., The Limits to Growth, New York: Potomac Associates, 1972.

Report on the Limits to Growth, A Study of a special Task Force of the World Bank, September, 1972.

VIII. Short Range Imperatives in International Politics: Markov Models, Baynesian Statistics, and Events Analysis

Ben-Dak, Joseph D. and Michael Mihalka, "Baynesian Analysis: An Exposition and Implications for International Peace," Paper presented at the First Annual Convention of the Peace Research Society (International) Southern Section, North Carolina, April 1972.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Rosenau, James N., "The Adaptation of National Societies: A Theory of Political System Behaviour and Transformation," 1970, The McCaleb-Seiler Publishing Company, pp. 1-27.

Goodman, Ronald, Jeffrey Hart, and Richard Rosecrance, Testing International Theory: Methods and Data in a Situational Analysis of International Politics, Ithaca: Cornell University.

Hanrieder, Wolfram F., Comparative Foreign Policy: Theoretical Essays, New York: David McKay, 1971, Ch. 6 and 11.

Azar, Edward (1970), "Analysis of International Events," Peace Research Reviews, Vol. IV, No. 1, Nov. 1970.

IX. Simulation and Forecasting in International Relations: Problems and Prospects

Abelson, Robert P., "Simulation of Social Behaviour," in Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aranson (eds,). The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2, 1968, pp. 274-356, Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publication Co.

Raser, John R., Donald T. Campbell, and Richard W. Chadwick, "Gaming and Simulation for Developing Theory Relevant to International Relations," General System Yearbook, Vol. XV, 1970, pp. 183-204.

Brody, Richard A., "Some Systemic Effects of the Spread of Nuclear Weapons Technology: A Study through Simulation of a Multi-Nuclear Future," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 7, 1963, pp. 663-753.

Herman, Charles F. and Margaret G., "An Attempt to Simulate the Outbreak of World War I," in James N. Rosenau (ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, New York: The Free Press, 1969, pp. 622-639.

Burgess, Philip and James A. Robinson, "Alliances and the Theory of Coalition Action: A Simulation of Coalition Processes," in James N. Rosenau, International Politics and Foreign Policy, (second edition), New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969, pp. 640-653.

Choucri, Nazli, "Key Issues in International Relations Forecasting," Chapter 1 in Nazli Choucri and Thomas W. Robinson (eds.), Forecasting in International Relations: Theory, Methods, Problems, Prospects, (in preparation) September 1973.

Bobrow, Davis, "Criteria for Evaluating Forecasts," in Nazli Choucri and Thomas W. Robsnson (eds.), Forecasting in International Relations: Theory, Methods, Problems, Prospects, (in preparation) September 1973.

X. Simulation and Forecasting in International Relations: Problems and Prospects - Continued

Blackman, Wade A., "Forecasting Through Dynamic Modeling," Technological Forecasting and Social Change, Vol. 3, 1972, pp. 291-307.

Martino, Joseph P., Technological Forecasting for Decision-Making, New York: American Elsevier Publishing Co., 1972.

XI. Ethical Questions in International Relations: Field Seminar

Kelman, Herbert C., A Time to Speak: On Human Values and Social Research, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Co., 1968.

XII. Career Choices in International Relations: Where can you go from here?

Field Seminar

FOREIGN POLICY MAKING, SHAKING AND BREAKING
(Political Science 8-416)

David Bobrow and Enid Schoettle
Winter 1971-72

Dept. of Political Science
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

This course is concerned with public policy on international matters and the relationship of analysts and analytic skills to that sector of public policy. Accordingly, the specific contents of the course are intended to give you: 1)standards for appraising foreign policy and analytic contributions to it; 2)awareness of latent phenomena which affect foreign policy as distinct from explicit rationales for policy; 3)initial familiarity with a repertoire of analytic interventions in the policy process; and 4)individual and group experience in designing policy interventions.

Course Project

Select one decision-making unit in either the Executive or Congressional branches of the U.S. government. Discuss how this unit, in the period from fall, 1963, to spring, 1968, might have intervened to have produced a different outcome in U.S. Vietnam policy from the results described in the Pentagon Papers. Begin by stipulating the outcome(s) the intervention seeks to achieve. Your paper should be sure to address these questions: 1)What information would the unit need to execute the intervention you suggest? 2)How would it get and when would it need the information? 3)What strategies would be most conducive to successful execution of the intervention? 4)How likely would the intervention you suggest be to succeed, given optimal information and strategic choice? 5)If unlikely to succeed, what conditions would have to have been different in what particular ways for the intervention to work?

Reading Outline

PART I: Standards and Definitions (1st-2nd weeks)

1. Policy performance

Deutsch, Karl W., The Nerves of Government. New York: The Free Press, 1963

Lasswell, Harold D., The Decision Process: Seven Categories of Functional Analysis. (College Park, Maryland, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1957)

2. Foreign Policy

Brunner, Ronald D. and Liepelt, Klaus, "Data Analysis, Process Analysis, and System Change." Institute of Public Policy Studies, University of Michigan (Discussion Paper #20)
McGowan, Patrick J., "A Formal Theory of Foreign Policy as Adaptive Behavior."
Meehan, Eugene J., "The Concept 'Foreign Policy'"
Ranney, Austin, ed., Political Science and Public Policy, "The Analysis of Public Policy," by Robert H. Salisbury. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1968

PART II: Constraints on Foreign Policy (3rd-4th weeks)

1. Organizational Constraints:

Downs, Anthony, Inside Bureaucracy. Boston: Little, Brown, 1967
Allison, Graham T., Essence of Decision. Boston: Little, Brown, 1971

2. Group Mentality

Mead, Margaret and Metraux, Rhoda B., eds., Study of Cultures at a Distance, Part 10. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1953
Erikson, Erik H., Childhood and Society (Chapters 8 & 9), 1st ed., 1950; 2nd ed., 1963. New York: Norton

3. Contextual Constraints

Schelling, Thomas C., Arms and Influence (Chapter 2). Yale University Press
Schilling, Warner R., "The H-bomb Decision," POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY 76:1. March, 1961, p. 24-46

4. Economic Constraints

Russett, Bruce, What Price Vigilance (Chapters 4 & 5). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970
Crecine, John P. and Fischer, Gregory, "On Resource Allocation in the U.S. Department of Defense." Institute of Public Policy Studies, University of Michigan (Discussion Paper #31)
National Urban Coalition, The Counterbudget. New York: Praeger, 1971
Schultze, Fried, Rivlin, and Teeters, SETTING NATIONAL PRIORITIES: THE 1972 BUDGET. Washington, D.C., Brookings Institute, 1971; (Ask for by title)
Russett, Bruce M., ed., Economic Theories of International Politics. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1968

5. Public Opinion Constraints

Russett, Bruce M., The Revolt of the Masses: Public Opinion on Military Expenditures
Mueller, John E., "Trends in Popular Support for the Wars in Korea and Vietnam." AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, June 1971, Vol. LXV, No. 2
Mueller, John E., "Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson." AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, March 1970, Vol. LXIV, No. 1

Ellsberg, Daniel, "The Quagmire Myth and the Stalemate Machine." PUBLIC POLICY, Spring 1971, p. 217-274

Cantril, Albert and Roll Jr., Charles W., Hopes and Fears of the American People. New York: Universe Books, 1971

PART III: Analyst Performance (5th week)

Archibald, K.A., "Three Views of Expert's Role in Policy-Making." POLICY SCIENCES, 1:1, Spring 1970, pp. 73-86

Moscher, Frederick C. and Harr, John E., Programming Systems and Foreign Affairs Leadership. Oxford University Press, 1970

Enthoven, Alain C., How Much is Enough? Harper and Row, 1971. Chapters 1-3, 6, 9

Hammond, Paul Y., "A Functional Analysis of Defense Department Decision-Making in McNamara's Administration," AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, 62:1, March 1968, pp. 57-69

Wildavsky, Aaron B., "Political Economy of Efficiency." PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW, 26:292-310, December 1966

Wildavsky, Aaron B., "Rescuing Policy Analysis from PPBS." PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW, 29:2, pp. 189-202, March/April 1969

Operations Research Society of America, Committee on Professional Standards, "Guidelines for Professional Practice." OPERATIONS RESEARCH, September 1971, pp. 1127-1131

PART IV: Analytic Interventions (6th-9th weeks)

1. Frameworks for thought: the mindsets of analysts

Rosenau, James N., ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, Revised ed. 1969. "International Crisis as a Situational Variable," by Charles F. Hermann, pp. 409-421. New York: Free Press 1969

Schelling, Thomas C., The Strategy of Conflict. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1966, c. 1960

Boulding, Kenneth E., Conflict and Defense. New York: Harper 1962

Leites, Nathan C. and Wolf Jr., Charles, Rebellion and Authority. Chicago: Markham 1970

2. Understanding Others and Self: What You Must Know in order to Know What not to do

Finlay, David J., Enemies in Politics. "Cognitive Dynamics and Images of the Enemy," by Ole Holsti, pp. 25-96. Chicago: Rand McNally 1967

Cantril, Hadley, The Human Dimension. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univeristy Press, 1967

Rogow, Arnold, James Forrestal. New York: Macmillan 1963

George, Alexander L., Propaganda Analysis. White Plains: Row, Peterson 1959

3. Group Problem Solving

Burton, John W., Conflict and Communication. New York: The Free Press 1969

Merritt, Richard L., ed., International Communication. Article by Herbert Kelman

4. Horror Stories are Instructive

a. Third party assessment

Wohlstetter, Roberta, Pearl Harbor, Warning and Decision. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1962
Whaley, Barton, Operation Barbarossa. Cambridge. Center for International Studies, M.I.T. 1969
Tuchman, Barbara, Guns of August. New York: Macmillan 1962
Whiting, Allen S., China Crosses the Yalu. New York: Macmillan 1960

b. Retrospective self-report

Speer, Albert, Inside the Third Reich. New York: Macmillan 1970
Hoopes, Townsend, The Limits of Intervention. New York: David McKay 1969

5. Policy Critique as Warning

Milburn, T.W., "Vietnam and the Policy Sciences"
Ravenal, Earl C., "Nixon Doctrine, Defense Policy and our Commitments in Asia." FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 49:2, January 1971, pp. 201-217
Institute for Strategic Studies, Problems of Modern Strategy. "The Reappraisal of Limited War," by Robert E. Osgood, part I, pp. 41-54. (Adelphi Paper #54, February 1969)
George, Alexander L., et. al., The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy. Intro Chapter 1, 5. Boston: Little, Brown 1971
Kaufmann, William W., ed., Military Policy and National Security. Chapters 1, 4. Princeton University Press 1956

6. Opposed Systems Design

Kaplan, Morton A., ed., New Approaches to International Relations. "Theory and Opposed-Systems Design," by Albert Wohlstetter, pp. 19-53
Irving, David John Cawdell, The Mare's Nest. London: William
Pruitt, Dean G. and Snyder, Richard, Theory and Research on Causes of War. "Deterrence as an Influence Process," by Ithiel de Sola Pool, pp. 189-196. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall 1969

7. Cooperative Systems Design

Falk, Richard A., This Endangered Planet. New York: Random House 1971
U.S. Air Force Academy Department of Political Science, American Defense Policy, ed., Smith III, Mark E., and Johns, Jr., Claude J. The Anatol Rapoport article.

RACE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
(Government 360)

Locksley G. E. Edmondson
Spring 1973

Department of Government
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Approach

The earlier part of the course (through March 7) will involve a series of lectures supplemented by seminar discussion of assigned readings. The rest of the course will be comprised of further intensive discussion of assigned readings and of two written presentations by students.

A short paper (7-10 pages) is due by noon, Monday 26 March. The second (20-30 pages) paper is due by Wednesday 18 April. TWO COPIES OF EACH PAPER ARE REQUIRED, one of which will be deposited on Govt. 360 Library Reserve (or, if possible, in a convenient place in McGraw Hall) so that they may all be read in advance of the relevant seminar discussion.

The instructor reserves the right to set a final (take-home) examination--depending on whether he feels that students have not done sufficient work in preparing for seminar discussions or in preparing papers--but he hopes that such a step will be unnecessary. Assuming that there will be no examination, final grades will reflect (a) participation in seminars and (b) quality of written work. Also, tentatively in lieu of an examination, an additional seminar has been arranged for the final week of the course. We have further scheduled some additional seminars during the first two weeks to make up for the time lost due to our late start.

Books to Be Purchased

Hannah ARENDT, Imperialism.
Basil DAVIDSON, The Liberation of Guinea.
Frantz FANON, The Wretched of the Earth.
E. Franklin FRAZIER, Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World.
Eduardo MONDLANE, The Struggle for Mozambique.

Course Schedule

Reading materials assigned below should all be read thoroughly in advance of the discussion date noted. This does not, however, apply to supplementary readings though it is hoped that students will find it possible to consult some of the latter. Unless noted otherwise, all readings assigned concern either purchased books or materials on Uris Reserve. In requesting the latter, use references as capitalized below.

(A) PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES

I. Organizational Meeting

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

II. "1919 and 1971: A Comparative Temporal Introduction"

III. Race Studies & International Studies

UNITAR (United Nations Institute for Training and Research) "Guidelines for a Study of the Effectiveness of Policies and Measures Against Racial Discrimination," U.N. Doc. A/CONF. 32/11, 29 Feb. 1968

Rose, Peter. "The Development of Race Studies," in Shepherd, George, Jr., and LeMelle, Tilden, eds., Race Among Nations: A Conceptual Approach.

International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. by David L. Sills (New York, 1968), Vol. 8, pp. [illegible]-30 on "International Politics" and pp. 60-83 on various aspects of "International Relations." (N.B. The Encyclopedia is not on Reserve; it should be readily available in Uris or Olin Libraries for consultation.)

IV. Toward the Study of "International Race Relations."

Edmondson, Locksley. "The Challenges of Race: From Entrenched White Power to Rising Black Power," International Journal, XXIV (Autumn 1969), 693-716.

Gardiner, Robert. "Race and Color in International Relations," Daedalus, XCVI (Spring 1967), 296-311; reprinted in John Hope Franklin, ed., Color and Race, pp. 18-33.

Isaacs, Harold. "Color in World Affairs," Foreign Affairs, XLVII (January 1969), 235-250; reprinted in Shepherd, George, ed., Racial Influences on American Foreign Policy, Chapter 1.

Mast, Robert. "Some Theoretical Considerations in the Study of International Race Relations" (mimeo).

Preiswerk, A. Roy, "Race and Colour in International Relations," Yearbook of World Affairs 1970, Vol. 24, pp. 54-87.

Shepherd and LeMelle, Race Among Nations, Foreword (by LeMelle) and Chapter 1, "The Study of Race in American Foreign Policy and International Relations" by Shepherd.

(B) EVOLUTIONARY ASPECTS

V. Race and Culture Contacts: Historical Aspects of Globalization

a) Discussion of Frazier, Race and Culture Contacts.
b) Slavery in a Comparative-International Perspective.

VI. Colonial Imperialism and the Internationalization of Race Dominance

a) Discussion of Arendt, Imperialism.
b) Colonial Imperialism in the Structuring of the International Politico-Racial Order.
c) The United States in the late 19th century Imperialist System: Domestic-International Politico-Racial Linkages.

VII. Decolonization, Self-Determination, and the Afro-Asian Search for Restructuring the International Politico-Racial Order.

a) Transnationalism and Pan-Movements
b) Theory and Practice of Self-Determination
c) The Afro-Asian Search
d) Discussion of Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth.

(C) CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES.

VIII. Issue Areas and Systemic Perspectives.

a) The Transformed Context and Content of an Internationalization of Race
b) Domestic Ethnic Influences on Foreign Policy Formulation and Behavior--Discussion of assigned readings on Canada:
Francois-Albert Angers, "Why We Shall Never Accept Conscription for Overseas Service," in Ramsay Cook, ed., French-Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology (Toronto, 1969), pp. 228-236.
Marcel Cadieux, "Quebec in World Affairs--Myth or Reality?," Speech at University of Montreal, 2 March 1968 (Ottawa: Dept. of External Affairs, Statements and Speeches, No. 68/10).
Hon. Paul Martin, Federalism and International Relations (Ottawa, 1968), Excerpts (pp. 29-33, 37-43, 47-48).
c) External Influences on National-Regional Patterns of Race Relations:
Edmondson. "Caribbean Nation-Building and the Internationalization of Race", (mimeo); forthcoming in Wendell Bell & Walter Freeman, eds., Ethnicity and Nation Building (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1973).
d) Intra-Regional Cleavage/Conflictual Dimensions:
Connor, Walker. "Ethnology and the Peace of South Asia," World Politics, XXII (October 1969), 50-86.
e) Wider International Perspectives on Racial/Ethnic Cleavage and Conflict.

IX. International Organizational and Legal Perspectives.

a) From League of Nations to United Nations
b) Commonwealth and OAU Interests, Activities, Challenges
c) International Conventions: The Search for Legal Standards and Problems of Implementation
d) Discussion of: "The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination," text in Brownlie, Ian (ed.), Basic Documents on Human Rights, pp. 237-252. (Additional copies of the International Convention itself will be placed on Reserve.)

Note: Short Paper (2 copies) due on the following topic:

Critically review the contributions of any one of the following works to the comprehension of the international relations implications of race and/or ethnicity.

Banton, Michael. Race Relations.
Mason, Philip. Patterns of Dominance.
Schermerhorn, R.A. Comparative Ethnic Relations.
Shibutani, T. and Kwan, K.M. Ethnic Stratification.
Van Den Berghe, Pierre. Race and Racism.

X. Race Relations and International Relations Analysis: Recapitulation and Review.

a) Discussion of: Student Short Papers.
b) Intensive Case Studies.
Deutsch, Karl. "Research Problems on Race in Intranational and International Relations" in Shepherd and LeMelle, Race Among Nations.
Rosenau, James. Race in International Politics: A Dialogue in Five Parts (Monograph published by the University of Denver, 1969; on Library Reserve.) Reprinted in Shepherd and LeMelle, Race Among Nations; and in Rosenau, The Scientific Study of Foreign Policy.

XI. Race, American Interests and the Foreign Policy Process.

Edmondson, Locksley. "The Internationalization of Black Power: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," Mawazo, I (December 1968), 16-30.
Edmondson. "Race and Human Rights in International Organization and International Law--and Afro-American Interests," Afro-American Studies, II (December 1971), 205-217.
Fuchs, Lawrence H. "Minority Groups and Foreign Policy," Political Science Quarterly, LXXIV (February 1959), 161-175.
Haas, Ernst B. Tangle of Hopes: American Commitments and World Order, Chap. 8.
Shepherd, George, Jr. Racial Influences on American Foreign Policy, Introduction, Chaps. 2-6, 8, Conclusion.

XII. Southern African Crisis I: An exploration of the southern African international sybsystem and its relationship to wider international racial, economic, strategic, organizational and legal considerations, based in part on ad hoc lecturer's observations and primarily on discussion of the following:

Bowman, Larry. "The Subordinate States System of Southern Africa," International Studies Quarterly, XII (September 1968), 231-261.
Bowman, "Portugal and South Africa," in Steven L. Spiegel and Kenneth Waltz, eds., Conflict in World Politics, pp. 343-56.
Challenor, Herschelle, "Towards South African Economic Hegemony in Africa: A Preliminary Assessment," Review of Black Political Economy, II (Spring 1972), 56-80.
Walters, Ronald W. "The Global Context of United States Foreign Policy Toward Southern Africa," Africa Today, XIX (Summer 1972), 13-30.

MAJOR PAPERS DUE.

XIII. Southern African Crisis II.

a) The meaning and Role of Liberation Movements
Davidson, Basil, The Liberation of Guinea.
Mondlane, Eduardo. The Struggle for Mozambique.
b) The Diplomacy of African States.
Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa (1969).
"Mogadishu Declaration" in Southern Africa (1971).
c) The Escalating Conflict

XIV. Southern African Crisis III.

a) Southern Africa and United States Interests.

Bowman, Larry. "South Africa's Southern Strategy and Its Implications for the United States," International Affairs (London), XLVII (January 1971), 19-30.

Cefkin, J. Leo. "Southern Africa and the 1972 Election Campaign," Africa Today, XIX (Summer 1972), 55-63.

Johnson, Walton R. "Afro-America and Southern Africa: A Reassessment of the Past," Africa Today, XIX (Summer 1972), 5-12.

Kennan, George, "Hazardous Courses in Southern Africa," Foreign Affairs, XLIX (January 1971), 218-36.

Khama, Seretse. "African-American Relations in the 1970's: Prospects and Problems," Africa Today, XVIII (July 1971), 25-34.

Marcum, John. The Politics of Indifference: Portugal and Africa. A Case Study in American Foreign Policy (Syracuse, 1972), 39 pp.

Marcum, "Southern Africa and United States Policy: A Consideration of Alternatives", in Shepherd, ed., Racial Influences on American Foreign Policy, Chap. 9.

McKay, Vernon. "American Attitudes Toward Apartheid," in Philip Quigg, South Africa: Problems and Prospects, pp. 40-48.

b) Discussion of 2 or 3 student major papers, especially those (if any) concerning Southern Africa.

(D) RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

XIV. Conclusion

a) Discussion of remaining major papers.

b) Where Do We Go From Here? Discussion of following, all except starred materials--which should be readily accessible elsewhere--on Uris Reserve:

Edmondson, Locksley. "Africa and the African Diaspora: Interactions, Linkages and Racial Challenges in the Future World Order" (mimeo); forthcoming in Ali Mazrui and Hasu Patel, eds., Africa and World Affairs: The Next Thirty Years (New York, 1973)

Grundy, Kenneth. Guerilla Struggle in Africa: An Analysis and Preview, Foreword, Chaps. 1, 7.

Haas, Ernst. Tangle of Hopes: American Commitments and World Order, pp. 225-267, 282-285.

*Kaunda, Kenneth. "Race War Coming in Africa", Interview in U.S. News and World Report, 2 December 1968, 64-67.

King, Martin Luther, Jr. Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community, Chap. 6, "The World House."

LeMelle, Tilden and Shepherd, George, Jr. "Race in the Future of International Relations," Journal of International Affairs, XXV, 2 (1971), 302-313.

*Nyerere, Julius K. "Under Racism, Either Man Becomes Less Than a Man, or He Must Fight," Objective: Justice, III (January-March 1971), 26-27, 50.

*Toynbee, Arnold. "Is a 'Race War' Shaping Up?" New York Times Magazine, 29 September 1963, pp. 26,88-90.

Malcolm X Speaks, ed. by George Breitman, Sections 3,4, 7.

ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT
(Economics 464)

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Winter 1973

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Readings are grouped by topics listed in the outline of the course; unstarred items are "required" and starred items are "recommended." The following books are readers from which a variety of selections appear on the reading list; these readers will be referred to by editor(s) only.

1. Kenneth Boulding and Tapan Mukerjee (eds.). Economic Imperialism (1972).
2. K.T. Fann and D.C. Hodges (eds.), Readings in U.S. Imperialism (1971).
3. Gustav Ranis (ed.), The United States and the Developing Economies (1964).
4. Robert Rhodes (ed.), Imperialism and Underdevelopment (1970).
5. J.D. Theberge (ed.), The Economics of Trade and Development (1968)
6. Richard Weckstein (ed.), Expansion of World Trade and the Growth of National Economies (1968).
7. Harrison Wright (ed.), The "New Imperialism," (1961).

All of these readers (except Ranis and Weckstein) as well as the following books are recommended for purchase.

1. Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty, (1970).
2. James Ingram, International Economic Problems, (1970).
3. Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism, (1969).

I. DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

1. Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty (1970), chap. 1-8.
2. Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Rhodes reader.
3. Paul Baran, "The Political Economy of Backwardness," in Rhodes reader.

*4. Everett Hagen, The Economics of Development (1968), chap. 1-5.
*5. Paul Baran, The Political Economy of Growth (1968), chap. 5.
*6. Stephen Hymer and Stephen Resnick, "International Trade and Uneven Development," in J. Bhagwati (ed.), Trade, Balance of Payments and Growth (1971).

II. THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS ON UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

A. FOREIGN TRADE

Orthodox Trade Theory and the Pattern of World Trade

1. James Ingram, International Economic Problems (1970), chap.1-3,5.

*2. Pierre Jalee, The Pillage of the Third World (1968), chaps.1-3.

The Contribution of Foreign Trade to Development

3. Ragnar Nurkse, "Patterns of Trade and Development," in Theberge and Weckstein readers.
4. Gottfried Haberler, "International Trade and Economic Development," in Theberge reader.
*5. A.K. Cairncross, "Trade and Development," in Theberge reader.
6. Gunnar Myrdal, "International Inequalities," in Weckstein reader.
7. Gerald Meier, "International Trade and International Inequality," in Theberge and Weckstein readers.
*8. Hla Myint, "The Gains from International Trade and the Backward Countries," in Theberge reader.
9. Richard Caves, "Vent for Surplus Models of Trade and Growth," in Theberge reader.
*10. Hollis Chenery, "Comparative Advantage and Development Policy," in Theberge reader.
*11. Gottfried Haberler, "Comparative Advantage, Agricultural Production and International Trade," in Theberge reader.

The Terms of Trade

12. Raul Prebisch, "Development Problems of the Peripheral Countries and the Terms of Trade," in Theberge reader.
13. M.J. Flanders, "Prebisch on Protectionism: An Evaluation," in Theberge reader.
*14. Gottfried Haberler, "Terms of Trade and Economic Development," in Theberge reader.

Trade Policies

15. Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty (1970), chap. 9.
16. Harry Johnson, Economic Policies Toward Less Developed Countries (1967), chaps. 1, 3 (pp. 84-107), 8.
*17. Lester Pearson, Partners in Development (1969), chap. 4.

B. FOREIGN INVESTMENT

The Pattern of International Investment

1. Ragnar Nurkse, International Long-Term Capital Movements, (mimeo) (1972), chaps. 1-2.
2. Lester Pearson, Partners in Development (1969), chap. 5 and Annex II, Tables 12-16.
*3. Ragnar Nurkse, "International Investment Today in the Light of Nineteenth-Century Experience," Economic Journal, Dec. 1954.
*4. Thomas Weisskopf, "United States Foreign Private Investment: An Empirical Survey," in R.C. Edwards, M. Reich and T.E. Weisskopf, The Capitalist System (1972).

The Multinational Corporation

5. Raymond Vernon, Sovereignty at Bay (1971), chap. 1-3, 5, 6.
6. Stephen Hymer, "The Multinational Corporation and the Law of Uneven Development," in J. Bhagwati (ed.), Economics and World Order.

7. Harry Magdoff and Paul Sweezy, "Notes on the Multinational Corporation," in Fann & Hodges reader.
*8. Stephen Hymer, "The Efficiency (Contradictions)of Multinational Corporations," American Economic Review, May 1970.
*9. Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy, "Notes on the Theory of Imperialism," in Fann & Hodges and Boulding & Mukerjee readers.

The Contribution of Foreign Investment to Development

10. P.H. Ady, "Private Overseas Investment and the Developing Countries," in P.H. Ady (ed.), Private Foreign Investment and the Developing World (1971).
11. Paul Streeten, "New Approaches to Private Overseas Investment," in P.H. Ady (ed.), Private Foreign Investment and the Developing World (1971).
12. Felipe Pazos, "The Role of International Movements of Private Capital in Promoting Development," in J.H. Adler (ed.), Capital Movements and Economic Development (1967).
13. Hans Singer, "The Distribution of Gains Between Investing and Borrowing Countries," in Theberge and Weckstein readers.
14. Raymond Vernon, "Foreign-Owned Enterprise in the Developing Countries," in Theberge reader.
15. Giovanni Arrighi, "International Corporations, Labor Aristocracies, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa," in Rhodes reader.
16. Hans Schmitt, "Foreign Capital and Social Conflict in Indonesia, 1950-58," in Rhodes reader.
*17. G.D. MacDougall, "The Benefits and Costs of Private Investment from Abroad: A Theoretical Approach," Economic Record, March, 1960.
*18. Carlos Diaz-Alejandro, "Direct Foreign Investment in Latin America," in C.P. Kindleberger (ed.), The International Corporation (1970).
*19. Harry Johnson, "The Efficiency and Welfare Implications of the International Corporation," in C.P. Kindleberger (ed.) The International Corporation (1970).
*20. Chandler Morse, "Potentials and Hazards of Direct International Investment in Raw Materials," in M. Clawson (ed.), Natural Resources and International Development (1964).
*21. Albert Hirschman, "How to Divest in Latin America - and Why," in Hirschman, A Bias for Hope (1971).
*22. James O'Connor, "International Corporations and Economic Underdevelopment," Science and Society, Spring 1970.

Case Studies

*23. Keith Griffin, Underdevelopment in Spanish America (1969), chaps. 3-4.
*24. Michael Kidron, Foreign Investments in India (1966), chaps. 4, 7.
*25. Michael Tanzer, The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries (1969), chaps. 1-12.

C. FOREIGN AID

The Pattern of International Aid

1. I.M.D. Little and J.M. Clifford, International Aid (1966), chap. 1,2.

2. Gunnar Myrdal, The Challenge of World Poverty (1970), chaps.10,11
*3. Lester Pearson, Partners in Development (1969), chaps. 6-9 and Annex 2, tables 15-27.
*4. Harry Johnson, Economic Policies Toward Less Developed Countries (1967), chap. 3, pp. 80-84.

The Motivations for Foreign Aid

5. I.M.D. Little and J.M. Clifford, International Aid (1966), chap. 3.
6. Edward S. Mason, "United States Interests in Foreign Economic Assistance," in Ranis reader.
7. Milton Friedman, "Foreign Economic Aid: Means and Objectives," in Ranis reader.
8. Charles Wolf, Jr., "Economic Aid Reconsidered," in Ranis reader.
9. Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism (1969), chap. 4.
*10. Howard Ellis, "A Perspective on Foreign Aid," in Ranis reader.
*11. Hollis Chenery, "Objectives and Criteria for Foreign Assistance," in Ranis reader.

The Contribution of Foreign Aid to Development

12. I.M.D. Little and J.M. Clifford, International Aid (1966), chapters 4,5, 10.
13. Keith Griffin and John Enos, "Foreign Assistance: Objectives and Consequences," Economic Development and Cultural Change, April 1970; and comments by Issawi, Kellman, Rottenberg and Griffin and Enos in Economic Development and Cultural Change, October 1971.
14. Hamza Alavi and Amir Khusro, "Pakistan: The Burden of U.S. Aid," in Rhodes reader.
*15. Albert Hirschman and Richard Bird, "Foreign Aid: A Critique and a Proposal," in Hirschman, A Bias for Hope (1971).
*16. Teresa Hayter, Aid as Imperialism (1971).
*17. Rebecca Scott, "Economic Aid and Imperialism in Bolivia," Monthly Review, May 1972.

D. CAPITALISM AND DEPENDENCY

1. Thomas Weisskopf, "Capitalism, Underdevelopment and the Future of the Poor Countries," Review of Radical Political Economics, Spring 1972, and in J. Bhagwati (ed.), Economics and World Order (1972).
2. Suzanne Bodenheimer, "Dependency and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment," in Fann & Hodges reader.
3. Thomas Weisskopf, "Dependence and Imperialism in India," mimeo (1972).
*4. John Weeks, "Employment, Growth and Foreign Domination in Underdeveloped Countries," Review of Radical Political Economics, Spring 1971.
*5. Arthur MacEwan, "Contradictions in Capitalist Development: The Case of Pakistan," Review of Radical Political Economics, Spring 1971.
*6. Peter Bell and Stephen Resnick, "The Contradictions of Post-War Development in Southeast Asia,"Review of Radical Political Economics, Spring 1971.

*7. Cheryl Payer, "The Perpetuation of Dependence: The IMF and the Third World," Monthly Review Sept. 1971.

III. THEORIES OF IMPERIALISM

A. CLASSICAL IMPERIALISM

1. J.A. Hobson, "Imperialism: A Study," in Wright and Boulding & Mukerjee readers.
2. V.I. Lenin, "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism," in Wright reader.
3. Joseph Schumpeter, "Imperialism as a Social Atavism," in Wright and Boulding & Mukerjee readers.
4. E.M. Winslow, The Pattern of Imperialism (1948), chaps. 5-7.
5. David Landes, "The Nature of Economic Imperialism," in Boulding & Mukerjee reader.
6. Mark Blaug, "Economic Imperialism Revisited," in Boulding & Mukerjee reader
*7. Parker Moon, "The Dynamics of Imperialism," in Boulding & Mukerjee reader.
*8. Richard Koebner, "The Concept of Economic Imperialism" in Boulding & Mukerjee reader.
*9. Leonard Woolf, "Empire and Commerce," in Wright reader.
*10. Murray Greene, "Schumpeter's Imperialism: A Critical Note," in Wright reader.
*11. William Langer, "A Critique of Imperialism," in Wright reader.

B. MODERN IMPERIALISM

Marxist Views

1. James O'Connor, "The Meaning of Economic Imperialism," in Rhodes and Fann & Hodges readers.
2. Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism (1969) chapter 1,2,5.
*3. Hamza Alavi, "Imperialism: Old and New," Socialist Register, 1964.
*4. Heather Dean, "Scarce Resources: The Dynamics of American Imperialism," in Fann & Hodges reader.
*5. Harry Magdoff, "The Logic of Imperialism," in Social Policy, Sept./Oct. 1970.
*6. Gabriel Kolko, The Roots of American Foreign Policy (1969), chapter 3.
*7. William A. Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (1962), chapters 1-4.

Critiques and Alternatives

8. S.M. Miller, Roy Bennett and Cyril Alapatt, "Does the U.S. Economy Require Imperialism?", in Social Policy, Sept./Oct. 1970.
9. Robert Zevin, "An Interpretation of American Imperialism," Journal of Economic History, March 1972.
10. Arthur MacEwan, "Capitalist Expansion Ideology and Intervention," Review of Radical Political Economics, Spring 1972.
*11. Martin Bronfenbrenner, "Burdens and Benefits of Empire: American Style," in Boulding & Mukerjee reader.
*12. Robert Tucker, The Radical Left and American Foreign Policy (1971), Chapter 3.

SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY IN LATIN AMERICA AND WORLD POLITICS

Jose A. Villegas
Fall 1971

Institute of Latin American Studies
Columbia University
New York, New York

I. The New Global Trends of Science and Technology and Its Impact on Latin America.

Galtung, Johan, "The Future of the International System," Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 4, 1967, pp. 305-330.

Hasking, Caryl P., "Science and Policy for a New Decade," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 49, No. 2, January 1971, pp. 237-270.

Jantsch, Eric. Technological Forecasting for Planning and Its Institutional Implications, NSIA Symposium on National Research and Development for the 1970's, Washington, D.C., October 1967.

Sunkel, Osvaldo, "La Universidad Latinoamericana ante el avance cientifico y tecnico; algunas reflexiones." Estudios Internacionales, Año 4, No. 13, abril-junio 1970. pp. 60-89.

Varsavsky, Oscar, Ciencia Politica y Cientificismo, Centro Editor de America Latina, Buenos Aires, 1969.

Sabato, Jorge, and Botana, Natalio, La Ciencia y la Tecnología en el Desarrollo Futuro de América Latina, The World Order Model Conference, Bellagio, Septiembre 1968, mimeo.

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De Solla Price, Derek J., Little Science, Big Science. Columbia University Press, New York, Chapters 1 and 4, pp. 1-32; 92-117.

Ribeiro, Darcy, O Processo Civilizatório, Civilização Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1968, pp. 179-217.

Herrera, Almicao, "La Ciencia en el Desarrollo de América Latina," Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Chile, Año 2, No. 1, abril-junio 1968.

Needham, Joseph, "The Roles of Europe and China in the Evolution of Oecumenical Science," Clerks and Craftsmen in China and the West, Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp. 396-418.

OECD, Science Growth and Society, The New Perspective. OECD, Paris, 1971.

OAS, Estudios de Base sobre Política y Planificación Científica y Tecnológica, Circular Informativa No. 1, Organización de Estados Americanos, Washington, D.C. Octubre 1969.

Morales, Manuel Noriega, El Futuro de la Ciencia y la Tecnología en América Latina, VII Congreso Interamericano de Planificación, Lima, Peru, Octubre 1968.

II. Science and Technology and the Political and Strategical Environments in Latin America.

Strategy and Science: Toward a National Security Policy for the 1970's. Hearings before the subcommittee on National Security, Policy and Scientific Developments of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. House of Representatives, March 11, 13, 18, 19, 20 & 26, 1969.

Brodie, Bernard, "The Impact of Technological Change in the International System: Reflections and Predictions," Journal of International Affairs, Summer 1971.

Shulman, Marshall D., "What Does Security Mean Today?", Foreign Affairs, July 1971, pp. 607-618.

Estratégia, Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos, Buenos Aires, Argentina, bimonthly journal.

Hassner, Pierre, "Change and Security in Europe," Adelphi Papers, Numbers 45-49, February and July 1968. The Institute for Strategies Studies, London.

Marcha, weekly political magazine, Montevideo, Uruguay.

Primera Plana, weekly magazine, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Confirmado, weekly magazine, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Punto Final, weekly political magazine, Santiago, Chile.

III. Post-Industrial and Post-Revolutionary Models and Scenarios of Global Science and Technology.

Bell, Daniel, "Technocracy and Politics," Survey, Vol. 16, No. 1, Winter 1971, pp. 1-24.

Galtung, Johan, "The Future of the Human Society," Futures, Vol. 2, No. 2, June 1970, pp. 132-142.

Floud, Jean, "A Critique of Bell," Survey, Vol. 16, No. 1, Winter 1971, pp. 25-43.

Bourricaud, François, "Post-Industrial Society and the Paradoxes of Welfare," Survey, Vol. 16, No. 1, Winter 1971, pp. 43-60.

Fossum, Egil, "Political Development and Strategies for Change," Journal of Peace Research, October 1968, pp. 17-31.

Calcagno, Alfredo Eric, and Hopenhayn, Benjamin, Speculation on the Political Structure of Latin America Toward the Year 2000, VII Congreso Interamericano de Planificación, Lima, Peru, oct. 1968.

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De Souza, Luis Alberto, El Futuro de las Ideologias y las Ideologias del Futuro, VII Congreso Interamericano de Planificación. Lima, Peru, octubre 1968.

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IV. The International Methodology for the Study and Research of Global Science and Technology.

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U.P. Reunion del Comite Ad Hoc Cientifico Consultivo Interamericano. Washington, D.C. 7 - 10 de junio 1966, Union Panamericana, Washington, D.C.

Estudios, monthly political journal, Montevideo, Uruguay.

American Academy of Science, Office of the Foreign Secretary Collection on Latin American Reports, Washington, D.C.

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Bhathal, R.S., "Science Policy in the Third World," Technology and Society, Bath University of Technology, Vol. 6, 1971.

Gilpin, Robert, "Technological Strategies and National Purpose," Science, Vol. 169, No. 3944, 31 July 1970, pp. 441-448.

Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, United Nations ECOSOC. Record of the 14th Session. 16-25 February, 1971, E/AC. 521 L. 120. 24 March 1971.

V. Latin American Science and Technology Indicators. Case Study: Venezuela. (If basic material is collected, Argentina, Chile Peru, Cuba or Brazil could be discussed.)

Roche, Marcel, "Social Aspects of Science in a Developing Country," (on Venezuela), Impact, Paris, 1966.

Kidd, Charles V., "Research on Research in Venezuela," Science, Vol. 149, No. 13, August 1965.

VI. Transnational Science and Technology: The Multinational Corporation in Latin America. The Invisible Elites.

A Foreign Economic Policy for the 1970's: Part 4, The Multinational Corp. and International Investment, Hearing, Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy, Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the U.S. July 27-30 1970. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Press, 1970.

Ciencia, Tecnica y Dependencia, Congreso Cultural sobre Dependencia Neocolonialismo, Cabimas, Venezuela, 6 de diciembre de 1970, 43 pag.

A Foreign Economic Policy for the 1970's: Part e, the Multinational Corp. and International Investment, Hearing Subcommittee of Foreign Economic Policy, Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the U.S., July 27-30, 1970, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1970.

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"Imprese multinazionali e azione sindicale, Tempi Moderni, No. 6, Primavera 1971, Milano, pp. 3-14 and 117-126.

VII. Technological Transfer and Politics in Latin America.

Araoz, Alberto, La Transferencia del Sistema Cientifico a la Sociedad. Programa de Transferencia, Fundación Bariloche, San Carlos de Bariloche, Rio Negro, Argentina. Julio 26, 1969.

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VIII. The New Big Technologies in Latin America: Atomic Energy and Satellite Communication.

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Skolnikoff, Eugene B., "The International Functional Implications of Future Technology, J.I.A., Summer 1971 (forthcoming).

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Rowe, James W., "Science and Politics in Brazil: Background of the 1967 Debate on Nuclear Energy Policy," in Social Reality of Scientific Myth, edited by Kalman H. Silvert, New York: American Universities Field Staff, 1969, pp. 19-121.

IX. Science and Technology and Economic Development. The Developmental, Dependency and Revolutionary Models in Latin America.

Dos Santos, "America Latina e Nuovo Schema di Rivoluzione," Tempi Moderni, No. 6, Primavera 1971, pp. 67-76.

Bonilla, Frank, "The Invisible Elites," in The Failure of the Elites in Latin America, MIT Press, 1970.

Fillipi, Alberto, "Hipotesis del Modelo Historico-Estructural del Subdesarrollo," Economía y Ciencias Sociales, Caracas, Abril-junio 1970, pp. 81-94.

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Rao, Nagaraja, Technology and Economic Development, Workshop on Industrial and Technological Research, Djakarta, January 1971.

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X. Science and Technology in Japan and Communist China. Lessons for Latin America.

Needham, Joseph, "Science and Society in East and West," The Grand Titration, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1969, pp. 190-217.

Oldham, G.H., "Chinese Science and the Cultural Revolution," Technological Review, MIT, Vol. 71, No.1, October-November 1968, pp. 22-29.

Maciotti, Manfredo, "China Uses Science Policy to Walk on Two Legs," Science Policy News, London, May 1971, pp. 70-71.

Jaubert, Alain, "Recherche et developpement en Chine," La Recherche, Paris, No. 11, Avril 1971, pp. 339-349.

Uchida, G., Present-Day China Technology, White Paper. Tokyo, June 1968.

Cheng, Chu-yan, Scientific and Engineering Manpower in Communist China 1949-1963. Washington, D.C. 1965.

Wu, Y. and R.B. Sheeks, The Organization and Support of Scientific Research and Development in Mainland China. New York, 1970.

Abegglen, James, "The Economic Growth of Japan," Scientific America, March, 1970, Vol. 222, No. 3, pp. 31-37.

Yuasa, Mitsutomo, "Center of Activity: Its Shift from the 16th to the 20th Century," Journal of Japanese Studies in the History of Science, No. , 62, pp. 57-75.

Yuasa, Mitsutomo, "Scientific Revolution in 19th Century Japan," Journal of Japanese Studies in the History of Science, No. 2, 1963. pp. 119-126.

White Paper on Science and Technology:Science and Technology for an Affluent Society, Science and Technology Agency, Japanese Government March 1970.

Wilcox, Wayne, Forecasting Asian Strategic Environment for National Security Decision-Making: A Report and a Method. Memorandum RM-6154. The Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif. June 1970.

XI. The Global Political and Strategical Environments of the 70's and Their Impact on Science Policy in Latin America.

The Potential Impact of Science and Technology on Future US Foreign Policy (Paper presented at the Joint Meeting of the Policy Planning Council, Department of State, and a Special Panel of the Committee on Science and Public Policy, National Academy of Sciences, June 16-17, 1968.)

P.A.U. Strategy for Technological Development of Latin America, Doc. 2, Part II, and Doc. 4 - Viña del Mar, Chile, May 12-15, 1969. Pan American Union.

Lagos, Gustavo, and Botana, Natalio, Bases Para una Estrategia Científico-Tecnológica en América Latina, Banco Inter-Americano de Desarrollo, Instituto Para la Integración de América Latina, Santiago de Chile, diciembre 1968.

Ribeiro, Darcy, "Quattro Demande all'America Latina," Tempi Moderni, No. 2, Primavera 1970, Milano, pp. 46-60.

Jantsch, Eric, "From Forecasting and Planning to Policy Sciences," Policy Sciences, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1970.

Gaps in Technology, General Report, OECD, Paris, 1968.

THINKING ABOUT THE FUTURE

David Sokoloff and
Kurt Wehbring
Spring 1970

Urban Studies Program
San Francisco State Coll.
San Francisco, Calif.

Course Outline

A. Overview of present efforts in future viewing: purpose, values and effects

(Joint class development of course objectives based on initial readings)

Kahn, Herman and Anthony Wiener, The Year 2000, A Framework for Speculation on the Next Thirty-Three Years. The Macmillan Company, 1967, 421 pages; pp. xxi-xxvii, 1-5, Chapter 10 (optional)

*Bell, Daniel (ed.),"Toward the Year 2000: Work in Progress," Daedalus, summer 1967, 355 pages; pp. 639-665

Nisbett, R.A., "The Year 2000 and All That," Commentary, June 1968; pp. 60-66

The Futurist, A Journal of Forecasts, Trends and Ideas About the Future

McHale, John, The Future of the Future. George Braziller, 1969, 322 pages

Baier, Kurt and Nicholas Rescher (eds.), Values and the Future. The Free Press, 1967, 527 pages

Jungk, Robert and Johan Galtung, Mankind 2000, papers presented at the 1967 "First International Future Research Conference" in Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1968, 368 pages

The Next Ninety Years, California Institute of Technology, 1967

Chase, Stuart, The Most Probable World. Harper and Row, 1968

Landsberg, Hans H., Leonard L. Fischman, and Joseph L. Fischer, Resources in America's Future, Patterns of Availabilities, 1960-2000, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1963

B. Inter-relatedness or, the limitations of fragmentation

*McLuhan, Marshal, Understanding Media

Fuller, Buckminster, Operating Manual for Spaceship Earth, 1969

The Whole Earth Catalog, Portola Institute, 1969

C. Techniques of future forecasting

Helmer, Olaf, Social Technology, RAND Corporation (P-3063), 1965
Bell, Daniel, "Twelve Modes of Prediction," Daedalus, 1966
Ayres, Robert U., Technological Forecasting and Long-Range Planning. McGraw-Hill, 1969, 237 pages
De Jouvenal, Bertrand, The Art of Conjecture. Basic Books, 307 pages
Gabor, Denis, Inventing the Future. Penguin Books, 1964
Prehoda, R.W., Designing the Future. Chilton Book Co., 1967
Hirsch, Werner, Inventing Education for the Future. Chandler Publishing Company, 1967
Morphet, Edgar L. and Charles O. Ryan (eds.), Designing Education for the Future #1, Citation Press, 1967

D. Constituent and transitory factors; an investigation of relevant variables affecting the future

Galbraith, John K., The New Industrial State, Signet Books, 1967, 430 pages
Mumford, Lewis, "Technics and the Nature of Man," Nature, Dec. 4, 1965; pp. 923-928
Ginsberg, Eli, Technology and Social Change, Columbia University Press, 1964
Maslow, A.H., "A Theory of metamctivation: the biological rooting of the value-life," Journal of Humanistic Psychology, Fall 1967; pp. 93-127 (also in Sutich, A.J. and Vich, M.A., Readings in Humanistic Psychology, The Free Press, 1969)
Young, Michael, The Rise of the Meritocracy 1870-2033, Penguin Books, 1961, 1967
Teillard de Chardin, Pierre, The Future of Man. Harper and Row, 1964
Drucker, Peter, The Age of Discontinuity. Harper and Row, 1968-1969
Bell, Daniel, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society," The Public Interest, Nos. 6 and 7, Winter and Spring 1967
Ellul, Jacques, The Technological Society. Alfred E. Knopf, 1967

E. The processes affecting the future: cause and effect, the flow of history, serendipity, and chance

Heilbroner, Robert L., The Future as History, Grove Press, 1960
Harrington, Michael, The Accidental Century, Penguin Books, 1960

Boulding, Kenneth, The Meaning of the Twentieth Century, The Great Transition. Harper and Row, 1964, 208 pages
Toynbee, Arnold, A Study of History. Oxford University Press, 1951
Frankel, Charles, The Case for Modern Man. Beacon Press, 1955, 240 pages
Modern Historical and Social Philosophies, Dover, 1963

F. Alternative futures: utopian writings and other scenarios

Theobold, Robert, An Alternative Future for America. Swallow Press, 1968
Theobold, Robert (ed.), Social Policies for America in the Seventies, Nine Divergent Views. Doubleday and Company, 1969
Mancel, Frank E., Utopias and Utopian Thought. Beacon Press, 1967
Negley, Glenn and Patrick, J. Max, The Quest for Utopia, An Anthology of Imaginary Societies. Henry Schuman, 1952
Reiner, Thomas A., The Place of the Ideal Community in Urban Planning, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963
Bellamy, Edward, Looking Backward: 2000-1887. Modern Library, 276 pages
*Goodman, Percival and Paul, Communitas. Vintage Books, New York, 1960
Huxley, Aldous, Brave New World, Bantam Books, New York, 1968
_____, Doors of Perception, Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1963
_____, Island
Skinner, B. F., Walden Two. Macmillan, 1948
Rimmer, Robert, The Harrad Experiment

G. Urban futures

*Ewald, William R., Jr. (ed.), Environment for Man: The Next 50 Years, Indiana University Press, 1968
_____, Environment and Change: The Next 50 Years, Indiana University Press, 1968
_____, Environment and Policy: The Next 50 Years, Indiana University Press, 1968
Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Urban and Rural America: Policies for Future Growth, USGPO, 1968
Anderson, Stanford (ed.), Planning for Diversity and Choice, Possible Futures and Their Relation to the Man-Controlled Environment, MIT Press, 1968
Hodge, Patricia L. and Phillip M. Hauser, The Challenge of America's Metropolitan Population Outlook, 1960 to 1985. Prepared for the National Commission on Urban Problems, Frederick A. Praeger, 1968

Weismantel, William (ed.), "The Postindustrial City," New Mexico Quarterly, University of New Mexico, Fall 1968
Gottman, Jean, Megalopolis. Twentieth Century Fund, 1961
Mumford, Lewis, The City in History, Harcourt Brace and World, 1961

H. The process of change: planning mechanisms and techniques for intervention

Fabun, Don, The Dynamics of Change. Prentice-Hall, 1968
Kramer, Ralph M. and Harry Specht, Readings in Community Organization Practice, Prentice-Hall, 1969 (Section F, "Social Planning")

The Futurist magazine is available from:

The World Future Society
P.O. Box 19285
Twentieth Street Station
Washington, D.C. 20036

Annual subscription, which includes membership in the society, is $7.50.

SCIENCE FICTION AND SOCIAL POLICY

Dennis Livingston
Fall 1971

Department of Interdisciplinary Studies
Case Western Reserve University
Cleveland, Ohio

Description: This is a course neither in the history nor the literary qualities of science fiction. Rather, we will focus on what science fiction has to say about important public policy issues now bedeviling society or likely to arise in the near future. Our studies will cover this matter by analysis of plot themes of the stories we read, and of implicit assumptions and possible social impact of the literature as a whole. That is, science fiction is important for both its explicit content and for the impact of that content--its concepts and philosophies-- on society at large. We view science fiction from the perspective of the decision-maker or concerned citizen who desires insights into contemporary social problems that he is not likely to get from more traditional non-fiction social science literature.

In this light, the stories you will read have not been chosen because of their great contributions to science fiction literature--though they are all of high quality--but because they represent works of sociological science fiction that contain stimulating portraits of where we are and where we may be going.

Research Paper: The focus of your out of class reading for this course will be on developing material for a research paper related to our subject matter. Picking a topic need not be as difficult as it might at first seem. You could investigate a body of literature by one author (Social Policy Themes in the Works of...) or compare several authors' treatment of one particluar theme (overpopulation, nuclear war, misuses of technology, race relations, cities, etc.) or trace a given theme historically through the literature, or compare one or more authors' portraits of alternate societies. You could also develop paper topics around the historical impact of particular works (Frankenstein, The Battle of Dorking, The War of the Worlds, 1984, etc.), or the influence of science fiction on selected audiences (scientists, school children), or the broader impact of certain science fiction themes on the public consciousness (space flight, alien invasion, robots, etc.).

I should add that you need not restrict yourself to written science fiction in your research--the literature as found in cinema, radio, television, and comic books is important and acceptable too.

Texts. Agel, Jerome, The Making of Kubrick's 2001, Signet.
Amis, Kingsley, New Maps of Hell: A Survey of Science Fiction, Harcourt
Brunner, John, Stand on Zanzibar, Ballantine.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Clarke, Arthur C., 2001: A Space Odyssey, Signet.
Heinlein, Robert, The Man Who Sold the Moon, Signet.
Miller, Walter M., Jr., A Canticle for Leibowitz, Ace.
Keyes, Daniel, Flowers for Algernon, Bantam.
Crichton, Michael, The Andromeda Strain, Dell.
Pohl, Frederick and Cyril Kornbluth, The Space Merchants, Ace.
Vonnegut, Kurt, Player Piano, Avon.
Wells, H. G., Three Prophetic Novels by H. G. Wells, Dover.
Haydon, B., The Year 2000, RAND Corporation.

Course Outline

I. Herman Kahn Meets Godzilla, or, Futurology and Science Fiction.
   A. Wells.
   B. Haydon; Livingston, "Science Fiction Perspectives on Alternative World Futures" (distributed in class); Kahn, selected charts from remarks to the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, The Management of Information and Knowledge (distributed in class).

II. Alternative World Futures
   A. Pohl and Kornbluth.
   B. Brunner.

II 1/2. A Digression.
   A. Amis
   Midterm essay to be handed in on October 20; I'll be damned if I can think of something for you to write on that isn't some kind of regurgitated book review--I'm stuck--so we'll have to talk about this in class.

III. The Uses of Science and Technology.
   A. Heinlein.
   B. Vonnegut.
   C. Crichton.
   D. Keyes.

IV. The Nature of Man.
   A. Clarke
   B. Agel.
   C. Miller.
   Research paper due last day of class.
   Final essay due on date of assigned exam (same problem as above).

Science Fiction Bibliography

Introduction: In the compilation below, I have not attempted to list individual novels or story collections by authors, but have focused on important non-fiction works about science fiction and on good

anthologies. However, I have attempted preliminary classifications of novels and stories by plot content in too articles:

"Science Fiction as a Source of Forecast Material," Futures Vol. I, March 1969, pp. 232-238.

"Science Fiction Perspectives on Alternative World Futures," International Organization, in press.

I. Non-Fiction and Bibliographic Indexes about Science Fiction

Note: The most comprehensive list of such works is presently being compiled in annotated format by Thomas Clareson, editor of Extrapolation, and will appear periodically in that magazine.

Amis Kingsley, New Maps of Hell: A Survey of Science Fiction, Harcourt, 1960.

Armytage, W. H. G., Yesterday's Tommorrows: A Historical Survey of Future Societies, Toronto, 1968.

Bailey, J. O., Pilgrims Through Space and Time, Argus, 1947.

Bretnor, Reginald, ed., Modern Science Fiction: Its Meaning and Its Future, Coward-McCann, 1953.

Cole, Index to the Science Fiction Anthologies to 1965.

Clarke, I. F., Voices Prophesying War: 1967-1984. Oxford, 1967.

Day, Donald, Index to Science Fiction Magazines 1926-1950.

Franklin, Bruce H., Future Perfect: American Science Fiction of the Nineteenth Century, Oxford, 1966.

Hillegas, Mark R., The Future as Nightmare: H. G. Wells and the Antiutopians, Oxford, 1967.

Knight, Damon, In Search of Wonder: Essays on Modern Science Fiction, Advent, 1967.

Metcalf, Norm, The Index of Science Fiction Magazine 1951-1965.

Lerner, Annotated Checklist of Science Fiction Bibliographical Works.

Moskowitz, Sam, Explorers of the Infinite: Shapers of Science Fiction, World 1963.

Moskowitz, Sam, Seekers of Tomorrow: Masters of Modern Science Fiction Ballantine, 1967.

Philmus, Robert M., Into the Unknown: The Evolution of Science Fiction from Francis Godwin to H. G. Wells, University of California, 1970.

Rose, Lois and Stephen, The Shattered Ring: Science Fiction and the Quest for Meaning, John Knox Press, 1970.

Strauss, Erwin S., Index to the Science Fiction Magazines 1951-1965, with annual supplements, New England Science Fiction Association.

Viggiano, Michael and Donald Franson, Science Fiction Title Changes.

Davenport, Basil, ed., The Science Fiction Novel: Imagination and Modern Social Criticism, Advent.

Note: Most of the above indexes are obtainable from the F and SF Book Co., P. O. Box 415, Staten Island, New York 10302. Advent Press of Chicago publishes only works on science fiction, including the proceedings of several world science fiction conventions.

II. Science Fiction in Other Media

Agel, Jerome, The Making of Kubrick's 2001, Signet, 1970.
Baxter, Science Fiction in the Cinema.
Clarens, Carlos, Illustrated History of the Horror Film, Putnam.
Whitfield, Stephen E. and Gene Roddenberry, The Making of Star Trek, Ballantine, 1968.

III. Annual or Series Anthologies

Amis, Kingsley, and Robert Conquest, Spectrum: A Science Fiction Anthology, Harcourt, 1961.
Harrison, Harry, Author's Choice, Berkley.
Harrison, Harry, Nova, Delacorte.
Harrison, Harry and Brian W. Alduo, Best Science Fiction, Putnam.
Knight, Damon, Nebula Award Stories, Doubleday (editorshop of this rotates).
Knight, Damon, Orbit, Putnam.
Merrill, Judith, The Year's Best Science Fiction, Dell.
Wollheim, Donald A., The Science Fiction Hall of Fame: Vol. V: The Greatest Science Fiction Stories of All Time, Doubleday, 1970.

Note: Most of the major science fiction magazines, Analog, Galaxy, If, The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction, also issue their own annual anthologies of best stories from their pages for that year.

IV. General Anthologies

Asimov, Isaac, The Hugo Winners.
Asimov, Isaac and Groff Conklin, Fifty Short Science Fiction Tales, Collier, 1963.
Boucher, Anthony, A Treasury of Great Science Fiction (2 Vols.), Doubleday, 1959.
Campbell, John W., Prologue to Analog, Doubleday, 1962.
Conklin, Groff, The Best of Science Fiction, Crown, 1946.
Conklin, Groff, The Treasury of Science Fiction, Crown, 1948.
Conklin, Groff, The Big Book of Science Fiction, Crown, 1950.
Conklin, Groff, Omnibus of Science Fiction, Crown, 1952.
Conklin, Groff, 17 X Infinity, Dell. 1963.
Derleth, August, Beyond Time and Space, Pellegrini and Cudahy, 1950.
Editors of Playboy, The Playboy Book of Science Fiction and Fantasy, Playboy Press, 1966.
Ellison, Harlan, Dangerous Visions, Doubleday, 1969.
Ellison, Harlan, More Dangerous Visions, Doubleday, 1970.
Ferman, Edward L. and Robert P. Mills, Twenty Years of the Magazines of Fantasy and Science Fiction, Putnam, 1970.
Harrison, Harry, Worlds of Wonder: Sixteen Tales of Science Fiction, Doubleday, 1969.
Janifer, Laurence M., Master's Choice: The Best Science-Fiction Stories of All Time, Chosen by the Masters of Science Fiction, Simon and Schuster, 1966.
Knight, Damon, A Century of Science Fiction, Simon and Schuster, 1962.

Knight, Damon, A Century of Great Short Science Fiction Novels, Dell, 1965.
Knight, Damon, 100 Years of Science Fiction, Simon and Schuster, 1968.
Merrill, Judith, Science Fiction: The Best of the Best, Delacorte, 1967.
Moskowitz, Sam, Masterpieces of Science Fiction, World 1967.
Moskowitz, Sam, Science Masterpieces of Science Fiction, World, 1965.
Moskowitz, Sam, Science Fiction by Gaslight, World. 1968.
Moskowitx, Sam, Under the Moons of Mars: A History and Anthology of the Scientific Romance in the Munsly Magazines, 1912-1934, Holt, 1970.
Silverberg, Robert, Great Short Science Fiction Novels, Ballantine, 1970.

V. Theme Anthologies

Clarke, Arthur C., Time Probe: The Sciences in Science Fiction, Dell, 1967.
Clement, Hal, First Flights to the Moon, Doubleday, 1970.
Conklin, Groff, Great Science Fiction by Scientists, Collier, 1962.
Conklin, Groff and Noah D. Fabricant, Great Science Fiction About Doctors, Collier 1963.
Elder, Joseph, The Farthest Reaches, Trident, 1968.
Harrison, Harry, The Year 2001: An Anthology, Doubleday, 1970.
Keyes, Noel, Contact, Paperback Library, 1963.
Santesson, Hans Stefan, Crime Prevention in the 30th Century, Walker, 1969.
Silverberg, Robert, Earthmen and Strangers: Nine Stories of Science Fiction, Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1966.
Stover, Leon and Harry Harrison, Apeman, Spaceman: Anthropological Science Fiction, Doubleday, 1968.
Wollheim, Donald A., Adventures on Other Planets, Ace.
Wollheim, Donald A., More Adventures on Other Planets, Ace.

VI. Science Fiction Outside the U. S.

Asimov, Isaac, Soviet Science Fiction, Collier, 1962.
Asimov, Isaac, More Soviet Science Fiction, Collier, 1962.
Magidoff, Robert, Russian Science Fiction, New York University Press, 1964.
Magidoff, Robert, Russian Science Fiction 1968: An Anthology, New York University Press, 1968.
Merrill, Judith, England Swings Science Fiction. Doubleday, 1968.
Suvin, Darko, Other Worlds, Other Seas: Science Fiction from Socialist Countries, Random, 1970.

VII. Magazines About Science Fiction

Extrapolation
Iuna
Riverside Quarterly
Science Fiction Review
Science Fiction Times
Speculation

VIII. Science Fiction Organizations

1) World Convention

For many years, avid readers of science fiction have formed themselves into fan clubs, replete with their own amateur publications ("fanzines"), often a useful source of information on what is happening in the literature, and conventions. The latter are organized on a local and regional basis, with a world convention taking place every Labor Day weekend. Significantly, the 1970 "worldcon" was held in Heidelberg, symbolizing the internationalization of science fiction; from now on, bidding for convention sites will continue on an international basis, whereas in the past all but one convention took place in the U. S. News of when and where the various meetings are to occur may be found in most professional science fiction magazines, particularly Amazing, which has a regular fan column.

2) Science Fiction Writers of America

SFWA is the professional association of science fiction writers. Among other things, it awards the "Nebula" prize annually for best novel and other categories of stories in science fiction (the fans' award is the "Hugo", awarded at the worldcons). Leadership of the SFWA rotates periodically. General information may be obtained from the current president: Gordon R. Dickson, P. O. Box 1569 Twin City Airport, MN 55111. For the bulletin of SFWA, contact Anne McCaffrey, 369 Carpenter Ave., Seacliff, NY 11579. Head of the lecture bureau, if you want a science fiction writer, is Harvey L. Bilker, 4 Sylvan Blvd., Lakewood, NJ 08701.

3) Science Fiction Research Association: An International Society for the Study of Speculative Fiction and Arts

According to its own description, "SFRA is concerned with the preservation of scholarly materials, the training of scholars and teachers, and the encouragement of artists in the fields of science fiction, fantasy, speculative fiction. Membership is open to all persons or interested institutions: student members receive a reduced rate; voting members are elected." For information, Fred Lerner 7 Amsterdam Ave., #36, Teaneck, NJ 07666.

4) MLA Conference on Science Fiction

The major function of this branch of the Modern Language Association is publication of the newsletter Extrapolation. For information: Thomas D. Clareson, Box 2515, College of Wooster, Wooster, OH 44691.

5) Secondary Universe Conference

This is an annual gathering of people interested in the research side of science fiction and fantasy, books and films. The third such event takes place this October 1970 at Queens College, New York. SFRA will report to the meeting under the chairpersonship of Virginia Carew, 129 E. 10th St., NYC 10003.

6) Fiction and Science Fiction Book Company

To my knowledge, this is the largest science fiction-only mail order house in the country; its lists of offerings are useful bibliographic material in themselves. Contact Richard Witter at P. O. Box 415, Staten Island, NY 10302.

TWENTIETH CENTURY POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CRITICISM
(Political Science 558)

Harry Targ
Spring 1973

Department of Political Science
Purdue University
West Lafayette, Indiana

The purpose of this course is to examine the literature of contemporary political and social criticism with particular emphasis on problems of post-industrial societies. The materials below draw upon one or more of five possible explanations for decay in modern civilization: political elitism, economic expansion and control, technological determinism, cultural and value dysjunction, and burgeoning state power. The reading materials further represent themes from history, political science, philosophy, and art history and currents reflecting marxism, socialist humanism, existentialism, anarchism, and liberalism.

From the multiplicity of themes and perspectives emerging from reading and discussions the seminar participants should develop some conceptions of instability and dynamics of change within the industrialized societies as well as critical perspectives on posited visions of alternative social orders. The outline below further suggests concepts and themes that will reappear throughout our discussion.

In terms of procedure the class will split into two two-hour discussion sections that will discuss the week's readings in depth. Each student will be responsible for one oral presentation during the semester. This presentation should be focussed on a critical analysis of the week's reading assignment, should briefly summarize major themes of the author, and should provide a five-minute critique of the author's perspective. The presentation should serve as a stimulus for extensive discussion.

Also each student will prepare two scholarly essays (eight pages each) in the form of a take-home exam on readings and discussions. Papers are due April 23, 1973.

Therefore the course will operate solely in seminar style with active participation by all members a prerequisite for success. The student will gain from extensive group interaction and individual preparation of papers.

READINGS:

Erich Kahler, THE TOWER AND THE ABYSS, Viking.
William A. Williams, THE GREAT EVASION, Quadrangle.
Theodore Lowi, THE END OF LIBERALISM, Norton.
G. William Domhoff, THE HIGHER CIRCLES, Vintage.
Theodore Roszak, THE MAKING OF A COUNTER CULTURE, Anchor.
Shilemoth Firestone, THE DIALECTICS OF SEX, Bantam.
Christian Bay, THE STRUCTURE OF FREEDON, Stanford.
Murray Bookchin, POST SCARCITY ANARCHISM, Ramparts.

ASSIGNMENTS:

I. The Transformation of Man (Kahler)

II. The Crisis of Industrial Societies (Williams, Lowi, Domhoff, Roszak, Firestone)

III. Alternative Visions (Bay, Bookchin)

OUTLINE OF MATERIALS IN READINGS:

I. The Crisis of Industrialized Societies: An examination of systemic theories of industrial transformation and decay.

A. Alternative theses
1. Decline of Pluralism
2. Political Elitism
3. Organizational-Technocratic Imperatives
4. Economic Expansionism
5. Massification of Society

B. Industrial Decay and Psychic Disorientation
1. Alienation
2. Atomization
3. Anomie
4. Flight from Personal Liberation

II. The Crisis on Values and Ethical and Philosophical Systems: A critical examination of normative theories underlying industrial societies.

A. Poverty of Liberalism
B. Existential Crisis
C. Quest for Freedom and Equality

III. The Crisis in Culture: An examination of the relationship between cultural institutions and processes and the industrial society.

A. Knowledge and Power
B. The Arts and Social Change
C. Educational Institutions and Political Systems
D. Science, Technology, and Social Organization

IV. Reality-Transcending Visions: An examination of proposals for alternative futures.

A. Traditional Visions
1. Utopian Socialism
2. Communism
3. Libertarian communities

B. Contemporary Visions
1. Participatory Democracy
2. Counter Culture
3. Decentralized Collectivism

Selected Bibliography

I. The Crisis of Industrialized Societies

Michael Harrington, THE ACCIDENTAL CENTURY
Erich Fromm, ESCAPE FROM FREEDOM
Herbert Marcuse, EROS AND CIVILIZATION, ONE-DIMENSIONAL MAN, ESSAY ON LIBERATION
Paul Goodman, GROWING UP ABSURD, PEOPLE OR PERSONNEL, UTOPIAN ESSAYS AND PRACTICAL PROPOSALS
William Kernhauser, THE POLITICS OF MASS SOCIETY
Norman Birnbaum, THE CRISIS OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY
John K. Galbraith, THE NEW INDUSTRIAL STATE
Theodore Roszak, THE MAKING OF A COUNTER CULTURE
C. Wright Mills, THE POWER ELITE
Barrington Moore, SOCIAL ORIGINS OF DICTATORSHIP AND DEMOCRACY
Karl Jaspers, MAN IN THE MODERN AGE
Marshall McLuhan, UNDERSTANDING MEDIA
Jules Henry, CULTURE AGAINST MAN
Amitai Etzioni, THE ACTIVE SOCIETY
Carl Oglesby, CONTAINMENT AND CHANGE
Hannah Arendt, THE ORIGINS OF TOTALITARIANISM
Norman O. Brown, LIFE AGAINST DEATH
Theodore Lowi, THE END OF LIBERALISM
Karl Mannheim, MAN AND SOCIETY IN AN AGE OF RECONSTRUCTION
Lewis Mumford, TECHNICS AND CIVILIZATION, THE URBAN PROSPECT, THE CONDUCT OF LIFE
Jacques Ellul, THE TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY
Ronald Berman, AMERICA IN THE SIXTIES
Henry Kariel, THE DECLINE OF PLURALISM

II. The Crisis in Values and Ethical and Philosophical Systems

Robert Wolff, THE POVERTY OF LIBERALISM, IN DEFENSE OF ANARCHISM
William Barrett, IRRATIONAL MAN
Lionel Rubinoff, THE PORNOGRAPHY OF POWER
Albert Camus, THE MYTH OF SYSYPHUS, THE REBEL, THE STRANGER, THE PLAGUE, THE FALL
Maurice Merleau-Ponty, HUMANISM AND TERROR
Jean Paul Sartre, SEARCH FOR A METHOD, BEING AND NOTHINGNESS
Harvey Cox, THE SECULAR CITY
Christian Bay, THE STRUCTURE OF FREEDON
Hannah Arendt, ON REVOLUTION
Fritz Stern, THE POLITICS OF CULTURAL DESPAIR
Erich Fromm, THE REVOLUTION OF HOPE
Ignazio Silone, BREAD AND WINE
Richard Means, THE ETHICAL IMPERATIVE
George Woodcock, ANARCHISM
James Joll, THE ANARCHISTS
Martin Buber, I AND THOU

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

III. The Crisis in Knowledge

Floyd Matson, THE BROKEN IMAGE
Theodore Roszak, ed., THE DISSENTING ACADEMY
Barton Berstein, TOWARD A NEW PAST
Thomas Kuhn, THE STRUCTURE OF SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION
C. Wright Mills, POWER, POLITICS, AND PEOPLE, THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR THREE
Noam Chomsky, AMERICAN POWER AND THE NEW MANDARINS
Abraham Maslow, THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SCIENCE, TOWARD A PSYCHOLOGY OF BEING
Paul Goodman, COMPULSORY MISEDUCATION, THE COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS
Richard Barnet, INTERVENTION AND REVOLUTION

IV. Reality-Transcending Visions

Paul Goodman, COMMUNITAS
Robert Boguslaw, THE NEW UTOPIANS
Martin Buber, PATHS IN UTOPIA
William Morris, NEWS FROM NOWHERE
A. L. Morton, THE ENGLISH UTOPIA
Kurt Vonnegut, PLAYER PIANO
Louis Yablonsky, THE HIPPIE TRIP
George Kateb, UTOPIA AND ITS ENEMIES
Edward Bellamy, LOOKING BACKWARD
Erich Fromm, ed., SOCIALIST HUMANISM
Leszek Kolakowski, TOWARD A MARXIST HUMANISM
Hannah Arendt, BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE
Daniel Bell, ed., TOWARD THE YEAR 2000
Paul Jacobs, Saul Landau, ed., THE NEW RADICALS

SOCIAL CHANGE
(Sociology 130)

Richard Appelbaum
Fall 1971

Department of Sociology
University of California
Santa Barbara, California

The course will examine long-term trends of society-level change in industrial nations, as seen through the eyes of major sociological theorists. Almost without exception, all 'important' 19th and 20th century theorists have argued that, under the impact of industrialization, western man has become rationalized; that social institutions in particular have tended towards rationalism, and that true communities (Gemeinschaft)have been replaced by impersonal, utilitarian urban societies (Gesellschaft). We shall examine such theorists, both to critically assess their insights concerning these developments, and to understand the assumptions on which their conclusions are based. Perhaps more importantly, however -- and certainly more speculatively -- we shall call into question the 'rationalism hypothesis', particularly in light of recent cultural developments in the most industrialized western nations. To accomplish such diverse ends, the course will range over a variety of materials and topics, as the following syllabus suggests.

I. Overview and Background.

A. The classification and study of social change.

Wilbert Moore, "Social Change," in the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.
Richard Appelbaum, Theories of Social Change (intro, last chapter
*Guy E. Swanson, Social Change (Glenview, Ill: Scott, Foresman, 1971).

B. Further statement of the problem

Ferdinand Toennies, Community and Society (part II, subsections 1-4, 9-12, 33-36, 38-40).
Charles Reich, The Greening of America (ch. 12)
*"Religion," in Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences

C. A touch of history and demography

Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Society (ch.3)
Philip Hauser, "The Chaotic Society", in American Sociological Review 34 (February 1969, pp. 1-19).
*Sylvia F. Fava ed., Urbanism in World Perspective (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968). See esp. chs. 1-3,11,22,24,25,27,31,36.

II. Rationality and Progress: From Community to Society.

A. The evolutionary model: notions of progress and the birth of sociology.

In this section which will take several sessions, we will familiarize ourselves with the 'classical' works in sociology -- those early works that presented concepts which have dominated mainstream sociology ever since. These readings are heavily theoretical--i.e., abstract; it is worthwhile to understand them, however, for the seminal ideas they contain. I will hopefully make concrete that which appears abstract. Read items in approximately the order listed; The Division of Labor is a bore but read it anyhow. Starred (*) items will provide lecture material but are not required reading and are not on reserve.

*Auguste Comte, System of Positive Polity, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, 1865)
*Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society (Chicago: H. Kerr, 1877)
Ferdinand Toennies, Community and Society, parts I & IV.
Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, book I, chapters 2-4 of book II.
*Durkheim, Suicide (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951), pp. 25-53, 145-276, 297-342.
Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, entire.
Marion Levy, "Social Patterns (Structures) and Problems of Modernization," in Moore and Cook (eds.), Readings on Social Change.
*Levy (get some spec. work on China or Japan).
*Alex Inkeles, "The Modernization of Man," in Fava, Urbanism in World Perspective (ch. 31)
Daniel Lerner, "The Grocer and the Chief: A Parable," in Fava (ch. 32)
*Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (New York: Free Press, 1958), esp. chs. 2,3, and 11

B. The equilibrium model: an up-to-date version of evolutionary theory.

We will grapple with the works of Talcott Parsons, who chooses to view societies as systems--reflecting, perhaps, the ascendence of cybernetics as the contemporary scientific model to emulate.(in the 19th century biology served this function). Parsons is interesting because of his systems theory (seen in later works), and his efforts to prove that all sociology thus far has converged on certian rationalistic assumptions concerning social action which justify a single paradigmatic theory of action (his, of course). I will ask you to read his more readable (empirical) essays, while I will lecture on his general theory; the more abstruse

materials are starred and not required (but recommended).

Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Society (chs. 6,9,10.)
Parsons, Societies (chs. 3-7)
*Parsons, Societies (chs. 1-2). The most recent statement of systems theory, and one of the most turgid passages ever set to paper.
*Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (New York: McGraw Hill, 1937, esp. part I)
*Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Society (ch. 4, esp. Technical note).

Best of luck.

C. The evils of industrial society

1. Conflict theory: an alternative approach to social change.

In these discussions we will consider classical Marxist theory, including Marx' and Engels' assumptions concerning the nature of man and the importance of community. We will briefly discuss the resurgence of Marxism in two forms: the Black Panther Party and Weatherman.

Lewis Feuer, Marx and Engels: Basic Writings, chs. 1,4,7,9,17.
*Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 3-71, 117-154 for summary and critique of Marxism)
*Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961).
Contains Bottomore's translation of the economic and philosophical manuscripts of the 'young Marx,' along with Fromm's argument that the humanistic quality reflected in these manuscripts is actually characteristic of Marx's later works as well.
*Harold Jacobs, Weatherman (Ramparts Press, 1970), esp. part 1 and the communicques). I'll try to get this on reserve.
*Philip S. Foner (ed.), The Black Panthers Speak (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1970, esp. chs.3 and 11). Of special interest is the growing alliance between the BPP and the CP, and the break with the cultural revolution (Cleaver's bust of Leary, not in the book).

2. City Life in the eye of the sociologist.

The midwestern origins of American sociology are in part betrayed by the insistence of some of the members of the early 'Chicago School' that city life was destructive of the human spirit. We will briefly consider this legacy, bearing in mind that there has also been a traditon in sociology which argued for the persistence of community within the metropolis (see starred items for a few examples).

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Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," in Fava (ch.4). The seminal article.

Herbert J. Gans, "Urbanism and Suburbanism as Ways of Life: A Re-evaluation of Definitions," also in Fava (ch.5). The seminal statement modified.

Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," in The Sociology of Georg Simmel.

*Harold Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial Society and Social Welfare (New York: Free Press, 1965), part I and appendix). A fairly good summary of the literature on the effects of industrialization.

*Morris Janowitz, The Community Press in an Urban Setting (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952).

*Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers.

*Gerald Suttles, The Moral Order of the Slum.

III. The Importance of Nonrational Elements: The triumph of Community

A. Socio-cultural shifts

A few sociologists have argued that social change is cyclical rather than progressive or evolutionary. The two we shall consider argued that extreme rationalism may be self-limiting; Weber, particularly, pointed to the importance of messianic or charismatic figures as a moving force in history.

Pitirim A. Sorokin, "Reasons for Sociocultural Change and Variably Recurrent Processes," in Moore and Cook (pp.63-80).

*Sorokin, Social and Cultural Dynamics (London: Bedminster, 1931, vol. I).

Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, (pp. 87-132, 324-392)

*Weber, Essays in The Sociology of Religion

Melford Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia (chs.1,3). This traces the origin of the Kibbutz in the German youth movement. I will also talk a bit about aspects of the kibbutz itself; chs. 2,4,5,8, and 9 are worth looking at. For a fascinating book on the transformation of the German youth movement of the 19th century into the Hitler Youth of the 20th, see:

*Howard Becker, German Youth: Bond or Free? (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946). Unfortunately, this book is out of print, so you will have to make do (if you are interested) with the more scholarly (and much drier):

*Mosse George, The Crisis in German Ideology (New York: Grosset & Dunlop), part II.

*Alfred Schutz, The Phenomenology of the Social World, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967, esp. chs. 1-6,30,31). In a lighter vein, this work is a phenomenological critique of Weber's methodology.

B. The critique of technocracy

Much of the material thus far considered has emphasized the evils of urban industrial society; the larger indictment, however, is of rationality itself, particularly as manifested in rationally organized bureaucratic institutions. This subject has, needless to say, received renewed attention recently with the growth of a counter (?) culture that emphasized spontaneity over rational (planned) action and rejects large-scale organization of any sort.

Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society (ch.II: also pp. 247-291, 428-436).
*Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counterculture (New York: Anchor, 1968, chs. 1,2,7,8 and appendix). Bestseller of two years ago; owes a debt to Ellul. Chs. 8 and the appendix are especially worth reading. This book may be substituted for Ellul if necessary.
*Charles Reich, The Greening of America (chs. 1, 8-12). Last years' bestseller.

C. Some speculations

In this final section I would hope to draw things together by focusing on specific topics of current interest. Things that come to mind include the resurgence of communalism and collectivism; the interest in religion, particularly mysticism (Hare Krishna, Lao Tzu, TM, etc.) but also Christianity; drugs; astrology; new forms of political struggle (Mayday?); and so forth. Since there is no single work to refer to, the following can be taken as a partial list of materials well worth looking at. Some are at the bookstore, some on reserve, and some may be available.

Lao Tzu, Tao te Ching (Blackney & Bynner both have widely used translations). 'The Way,' Chinese mystical poetry offered as an antidote to Confucianism, some 23 centuries ago.
*Carlos Castenada, The Teachings of Don Juan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968, part I).
Castenada,, A Separate Reality (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971).
Lama Foundation, Remember Be Here Now (New York: Crown, 1971). Part 2 ("From Bindu to Ojas") is the part to read first; then, read the confessions of Baba Ram Dass (nee Dr. Richard Alpert, Ph.D.) in part 1.
*Tom Hayden, Trial (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1970), chs.4,11,13-16.
*Aldous Huxley, Doors of Perception and Heaven and Hell (New York: Harper).
Huxley, Brave New World

*Mitchell Goodman, The Movement Towards a New America/ The Beginnings of a Long Revolution (A Collage) A What?

*Robert Houriet, Getting Back Together (New York: Coward, McCann, & Geoghegan, 1969). A cross-country trek through a dozen communes and communities.

*Charles Nordhoff, The Communistic Societies of the United States (New York: Schocken, 1970). First published in 1875, Nordhoff made the same journey Houriet made, only 100 years earlier. Some of the communities he visited are still around.

*Appelbaum, Reader. A folder of materials I have been compiling on counter-culture; some of the contents may be of interest.

Books at the Bookstore

Ferdinand Toennies, Community and Society
Talcott Parsons, Societies: Evolutionary and Comparative Perspectives
Richard Appelbaum, Theories of Social Change
Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society
Lewis Feuer, Marx and Engels: Basic Writings
Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Captialism
Wilbert Moore, Social Change
Wilbert Moore and Robert Cook, Readings on Social Change
Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society
Melford Spiro, Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia

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UTOPIAS

Dennis Livingston
Fall 1971

Dept. of Interdisciplinary Studies
Case Western Reserve University
Cleveland, Ohio

The usual format for a course with this title would be to read in chronological order the traditional classics of utopian literature (e.g., Plato, More, Bellamy). While I believe such works are still relevant to our times, my own interests lie elsewhere, in the area of how alternative life styles and values we see currently operating may influence the future of the society. The course will reflect this focus, so that a more accurate title for it might be "applied utopianism", or "Can a senior Casie find happiness in a required social science course?"

I have also structured the course to reflect my teaching philosophy, which is to offer all of us a variety of learning situations in which we may become engaged: personal reading, class seminar discussions, group research and presentations, and interaction with the urban community.

OK, so the first part of the course will consist of weekly readings from several works that provide scenarios of how society should or could operate, with explicit attention to political/economic systems, education and child-raising, and directing the uses of science and technology. This reading is as follows:

Lewis, Joan, Utopias as Alternative Futures, Stanford Research Institute, 1969.

Skinner, B.F., Walden Two, Macmillan.

Rand, Ayn, Anthem, Signet.

Huxley, Aldous, Island, Bantam.

Theobald, Robert and Jean Scott, Teg's 1994: An Anticipation of the Near Future, Personalized Secretarial Service, 1969.

The first work will be distributed in class--the others you buy at the campus bookstore. The readings are chosen to reflect the analysis in Ms. Lewis' piece, namely, that utopian writings can be classified into three types of society, according to the implicit and explicit values expressed: balanced, dynamic and transcendental. The books by Skinner, Rand, and Huxley illustrate each

type (actually, the Rand novel is a dystopian sort, but the values she stands for come through in the characterization of the rugged individualist hero--the same type who runs through her much longer other novels). The Theobald and Scott "participation book" is a good way to close off this part, as it is a pragmatic attempt to explain the transition steps between the present and a kind of world model that is very appealing to a variety of groups today, from right to left--the decentralized society.

This takes us through the first five weeks of the semester. On October 13, a midterm, take home essay will be due, based on the following issues:

"I would like you to present your own scenario of the kind of society you would be most comfortable in. In drawing your picture of how your ideal society would function, you are to explicitly draw upon the models described in our readings; i.e. assuming that no one book fully describes how you'd like thing to go, can you put together your ideal out of bits and pieces of what you have read? Where relevant, you may also draw upon your own personal experience for this essay. Please do not bullshit. 5 pp. minimum, preferably typed."

The second part of the course--the remaining eight weeks of the semester--will revolve around the information that teams of students will gather relating to those groups in our area that claim to have a handle on the future in some way. They may be living different life styles than the majority, or have programs or philosophies whose adoption they think would move America toward a "better" future; the sense of the matter here is that to be utopian doesn't have to mean you're an idealistic nut, but that you have a vision of how you'd like things to go. Your job is to snarf up such groups and find out what we can learn from them. During the first two weeks of class, part of each session will be devoted to getting you sorted out into teams, each of which will look into a different group; I anticipate about eight teams in each class. I am hoping it will not be impossible to locate at least 16 groups of the type we want in greater Cleveland, such as:

Free schools (Friends School of Cleveland; Hessler Road School; Gandalf Free U)
Israeli kibbutz (see the Jewish Community Center)
Technocracy, Inc.
John Birch Society
Black nationalists (Republic of New Africa)
Humanistic psychology (Gestalt Institute of Cleveland; ORAD program at CWRU)
Urban communes
Back to the land communes (publishers of Mother Earth News in Madison)

Reformed or radical political parties (New Democratic Conference; Socialist Labor Party; Young Socialist Alliance; any Yippies around?)
Women's Liberation
Therapeutic communities (like Synanon--any local version?)

And so on. Each team will have a week of class time for a presentation; this will consist of a 30 pp. research paper prepared by each team in advance of its first class session dealing with useful background information on its group (to be duplicated and handed out to the class), one session for an oral accounting and expansion of the team's findings, and a second session at which, hopefully, a spokesman from the group studied can be present for our questions. I will meet with each class team when it begins its work to aid in gathering bibliographic material and making contacts, but the responsibility for this is essentially yours.

In terms of reading, the class as a whole will thus have a paper a week to go over from each team. In addition, we will wander through one more book, also available at the bookstore, during this period:

Fabun, Don, Dynamics of Change, Prentice-Hall.
a good running commentary on the scientific and technological possibilities in increasing mankind's potential.

A final essay will complete the course requirements, due the date of the assigned final. The subject for this will be discussed in class.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note: for a good, annotated general bibliography on utopian literature, see: Caldwell, Lunton K. and William B. DeVille, Science, Technology and Public Policy: A Syllabus II, Indiana, 1968, pp. 179-195.

I. Non-Fiction Literature About Utopias

Armytage, W.H.G., Yesterday's Tomorrows: A Historical Survey of Future Societies, Toronto, 1968.

Doxiadis, Constantinos A., Between Dystopia and Utopia, Trinity College Press, 1967.

Eurich, Nell, Science in Utopia: A Mighty Design, Harvard, 1967.

Gray, and Orrick, eds., Designs of Famous Utopias, Holt.

Marlan, Utopia is an Island, Crown.

Hawthorn, H. B., "Utopia and Durability in Literature and Reality," 4 International Journal of Comparative Sociology.

Hillegas, Mark R., The Future as Nightmare: H. G. Wells and the Antiutopians, Oxford, 1967.

Howe, Irving, "The Fiction of Anti-Utopia," The New Republic, April 13, 1962.

Manuel, Frank E., ed., Utopias and Utopian Thought, Beacon, 1967.

Mumford, Lewis, et al., Utopia, Arts and Sciences.

Mumford, Lewis, Story of Utopias, Compass, 1962.

Ozman, Howard, Utopias and Education, Burgess, 1969.

Polak, Frederick L., The Image of the Future: Enlightening the Past, Orienting the Present, Forecasting the Future, 2 volumes, Oceana, 1961.

Rahv, Philip, "The Unfuture of Utopia," Partisan Review, Vol. 16, July, 1949.

Reuther, Rosemary Radford, The Radical Kingdom: The Western Experience of Messianic Hope, Harper, 1970.

Vitales, "The New Utopia" Science, Vol. 122, pp. 1167-1171, 1955.

Weinberg, A. and L., Passport to Utopia: Great Panaceas in American History, Quadrangle, 1968.

II. Non-Fiction Literature About Alternative Life Styles

Austin, Barbara Leslie, Sad Nun at Synanon, Holt, 1970.

Bettelheim, Bruno, The Children of the Dream: Communal Child-rearing and American Education, Macmillan, 1969.

Blumenthal, R., "A Berlin Commune: A Big Happy Family (Sometimes)," New York Times Magazine, pp. 27-29, 122-130, April 27, 1969.

Denlinger, Donald M., The Gentle People: A Portrait of the Amish, Grossman, 1969.

Durham, Michael, "Experiments in Marriage," Life, Vol. 67, pp. 38-48A, August 15, 1969.

Endore, Guy, Synanon, Doubleday, 1968.

Goodman, Paul and Percival, Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life, Random, 1960.

Hedgepath, William, "Hippies as Parents," Look, Vol. 33, pp. 69-74, July 15, 1969.

Hedgepath, William and Dennis Stock, The Alternative: Communal Life in New America, Collier, 1970.

Hopkins, Jerry Ed., The Hippie Papers, Signet, 1970.

Livingston, Dennis, "A Visit to Morningstar," New Society, pp. 529-531, April 11 , 1968.

Perry, Helen Swick, The Human Be-in, Basic 1970.

Atcheson, Dick, What the Hell Are They Trying to Prove, Martha?: A Wary Convert's Report on the New Self-Expression in America Today, John Day, 1970.

Howard, Jane, Please Touch: A Guided Tour of the Human Potential Movement, McGraw-Hill, 1970.

Mann, John, Encounter: A Weekend with Intimate Strangers, Grossman, 1970.

Rabkin, Leslie and Karen, "Children of the Kibbutz," Psychology Today, Vol. 3., pp. 40-46, September 1969.

Gustaitis, Rasa, Turning On, Macmillan, 1969.

Rimmer, Robert, Letters to Robert Rimmer, Signet.

Spiro, Melford E., Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia, Schocken, 1968.

Spiro, Melford E., Children of the Kibbutz, Schocken, 1968.

Wolfe, Burton H., The Hippies, Signet, 1968.

Yablonsky, Lewis, Synanon: The Tunnel Back, Penguin, 1967.

Yablonsky, Lewis, The Hippie Trip, Pegasus, 1968.

III. Magazines Carrying News About Utopias and Life Styles

Alternatives! Foundation Newsletter

The Futurist

Whole Earth Catalogue

The Modern Utopian

Human Relations Training News

Journal of Applied Behavioral Science

Journal of Humanistic Psychology

Psychology Today

SECTION SEVEN
THE UNITED STATES CONTEXT

CONFLICT IN AMERICAN SOCIETY
(American Institutions 206)

Joe Elder & Jim Struve
Spring 1973

Department of American Studies
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Required Texts

Graham, Hugh D. and Ted R. Gurr, Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives
Schelling, Thomas C., The Strategy of Conflict
Short, James F. and Marvin E. Wolfgang (eds.), Collective Violence
Skolnick, Jerome H., The Politics of Protest
Yarmolinsky, Adam, The Military Establishment

Part I - Different Disciplines and Their Approach to Conflict

Readings

Short, James F. and Marvin E. Wolfgang (eds.), Collective Violence, all
Schelling, Thomas C., The Strategy of Conflict, all
Plato, Gorgias

Overview of Conflict Research Joseph W. Elder (Prof. Sociology)

What are the various definitions of conflict (historical and comparative)? What schools of thought have been established to allow for the study and research of conflicts? What have been their impact on attitudes, theory, and global events? What alternative approaches are being suggested to deal with the existence of conflict in contemporary society?

Conflicts Between Primates Karen L. Steudel (Research Ass't, Zoology)

How do primates behave in conflict situations? What theories have been proposed to explain aggressive behavior among primates? In what way do these behavioral theories apply to human beings?

Conflicts Within and Between Tribal Units

What are the attitudes toward feud settlement by tribal units? How are contemporary attitudes about conflict similar to or different from historical perspectives toward feuds?

Discussion on Previous Two Sessions Joseph W. Elder

Review, comment, and discussion of the previous two sessions.

Religions and Conflict Herbert M. Howe (Prof. Classics)

Does contemporary Christianity view conflict as a healthy or unhealthy element of human society? To what extent are American

attitudes toward conflict (and war) the consequence of Christian beliefs? What are the historical roots of modern Christian attitudes toward conflict?

Literary Traditions and Conflict Richard Bjornson (Prof. Comparative Literature)

What has been the role of mythology in shaping contemporary attitudes toward conflict? To what extent have various literary traditions glorified and/or condemned conflict and violence?

Language and the Rhetoric of Conflict Llyod F. Bitzer (Prof. Comm. Arts)

What has been the role of language in shaping social perceptions of conflict throughout history? In what ways does language reflect the existing attitudes toward conflict? How do leaders utilize rhetoric as a means to manipulate social conflicts?

Discussion on Previous Sessions Joseph W. Elder

Review, comment, and discussion of the previous several sections.

Social-Psychology of Inter-personal Conflicts Lorna S. Benjamin (Prof. Psychiatric Institut

From what framework does psychology approach social conflict? What does psychological research suggest about the sources of interpersonal conflict? How does psychology view conflict differently from other disciplines?

Models of Conflict (Some Sociological Perspectives) Gerald Marwell (Prof. Sociology)

How do sociological theories view conflict? What does laboratory research suggest about the sources of social conflict? How does sociology view conflict differently from other disciplines?

Analytic Approaches to Conflict Converse H. Blanchard (Prof. Physics)

What scientific approaches to conflict have been developed? How are these frameworks similar to or different from the social sciences? What concrete results have been gained to support the hypotheses of scientific research about conflict? What is the anticipated role of scientific approaches in the development of future attitudes toward conflict?

Political Process in America J. Austin Ranney (Prof. Poli. Sci.)

How do the various schools of political thought interpret conflict, and how is conflict integrated into their respective political systems? As regards the function of conflict, does the ideal of the American political system differ greatly from reality? Does political science view conflict differently from other disciplines?

Evaluation of the Single Discipline Approach to the Study of Conflict Joseph W. Elder

What are the advantages and disadvantages of a disciplinary approach to the examination of conflict? What different kinds of perspectives

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are gained by focusing on specific conflicts in their entirety rather than the disciplinary aspects of conflicts in a generalized manner?

Part 2 - Patterns of Conflict in American Society

Readings

Graham, Hugh D. and Ted R. Gurr, Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, all
Skolnick, Jerome H., The Politics of Protest, all
Yarmolinsky, Adam, The Military Establishment, all

Introduction to Conflict in America Joseph W. Elder

With special attention to structure, in what respects is "conflict" an inherent part of the American system. What positive and negative consequences result? Does American society reflect a perspective on conflict that is unique to the U.S.?

Conflict Between Colonizers and Native Americans

What conflicts were important to colonial America? To what extent are contemporary attitudes toward "conflicts" similar to or different from those prevalent in colonial times? In what ways are the conflicts we face in the 1970's similar to or different from those confronted by early settlers?

America's Great Conflict: The Civil War

What are the historical roots of the American Civil War? What factors contributed to the actual outbreak of the War? Were the symptoms of the Civil War common to wars in general, or were there unique variables that make the Civil War different from other wars?

Economic Conflict in America Jack Barbash (Prof. Economics)

To what extent has the American economic structure generated social conflicts? What is the role of competition and conflict within the context of American society?

Ethnic/Religious Conflict in America Stanley K. Kutler (Prof. History)

How are the conflicts of the Jewish people similar to or different from other ethnic/religious groupings within American Society.

Racial Conflict in America

What are the historical roots of conflict in American society? In what ways have the forms and sources of racial conflict changed over the years? How serious a problem does racial conflict remain in 1973.

The Experience of American Women

To what extent is discrimination against women a problem in contemporary America? Is this currently a more serious conflict than in

the past? In what ways have perceptions changed regarding the role of women in the American society?

Discussion of Conflict in America Joseph W. Elder

Review, comment, and discussion of the previous several sections.

Two-Person Conflict Edwin E. Beers (Madison Campus Ministry)

What are the dynamics of conflict in a two person situation? What are the common sources of conflict between two persons? What are the characteristic perspectives with which people generally view their participation in such conflict situations?

Intra-Family Conflict Representatives from Briarpatch

How are the dynamics of intra-family conflicts different from other instances of conflict? In what ways do roles "parent" and "child" affect a person's expression of conflict in such a situation?

Discussion of Previous Two Sessions Joseph W. Elder

Review, comment and discussion of two-person and intr-family conflict.

Organizational Conflict Alan C. Filley (Prof. Business)

What mechanisms within organizational structures are available to facilitate the expression and/or suppression of conflict? How do organizational roles affect the ways in which conflicts are expressed? Are conflicts within modern organizations more frequent and more complex than at other times in history?

Community Conflict Jane Rogers (Dane Co. Regional Planning Comm.)

How much of a community conflict is affected by role behavior? What are the dynamics of the interactions between special interest groups, institutions, and individuals within a "community" context?

Discussion on Previous Two Sessions Joseph W. Elder

Review, comment, and discussion on community and organizational conflict.

The 20th Century Conflict Between China and the United States

What are the roots of the changing dynamics between China and the U.S.? In what ways have political and economic developments changed the nature of the conflict between these two world powers? To what extent have Chinese-American conflicts been real or the result of propaganda?

Part III - Case Studies of Some Contemporary Conflicts

Project Preparation Joseph W. Elder

Students will meet with Joe Elder to discuss and plan projects for the courses.

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Conflict in Small Groups Douglas W. Huenergardt (Asst. Prof. Communication Arts)

How do the dynamics within a small group affect the nature and expression of conflict? To what extent do individuals display conflict differently in the context of small group interaction? What are the various factors that have been identified as the sources of conflict within small groups?

Conflict in "T-Groups" Kenneth C. Lehman (Assoc. Chmn. Center for Community Leadership Develop.)

How are "T-groups" designed to elicit conflict from participants? What values are given to conflict within the "T-group" setting? To what extent are societal perceptions of conflict being altered by the experience of "T-group" sessions throughout the country?

The Dow Protest at UW-Madison Ralph E. Hanson (Director, UW Protection and Security)
Paul Ginsberg (UW Dean of Students)

What was the context from which the Dow Protest emerged? What were the political and emotional climate that precipitated the conflict? How was the behavior of the participants in the Dow Protest affected by the roles of those people involved (police, demonstrators, observers, etc.)? Were there conflicts underlying the Dow Protest that might have emerged in some other spectacular encounter had this demonstration not occurred?

The TAA Dispute at UW-Madison

What were the conflicts that created the foundations for the TAA dispute in the spring of 1970? How did the various constituencies (administration, faculty, TA's, students) view the dispute? To what extent were the conflicts that people perceived the result of the roles defined by the participant's constituency? How were the conflicts underlying the TAA dispute presented to the University community? Were the conflicts in question changed through public exposure?

The Cuban Missile Crisis David W. Tarr (Prof. Political Science)

What were the issues underlying the development of the Cuban Missile Crisis? How were the policy decisions made by each of the governments involved (Cuba, Russia, & U.S.)? To what extent did the roles of those nations affect their policy decisions and behavior? How did each of the governments present this conflict to their own people? In what ways did the political orientations of the nations involved in the Cuban Missile Crisis determine the perceptions of how those governments viewed the conflict? To what extent was this crisis magnified by each of the nations involved?

Conflict in 1973 Joseph W. Elder

These three sessions will allow students to focus on any conflicts that may have emerged during the spring of 1973. The specific

conflicts will be selected after class discussion. Resource personnel will be located who can bring special expertise to the particular conflicts that are identified.

Overview of Conflict in American Society Joseph W. Elder

These sessions will provide an opportunity for review, overview, and evaluation of conflict in American society. One goal is to develop an approach to analyze conflicts in order to facilitate our continuing need for resolution. Also, the synthesis of many theories into a more cohesive theory of conflict (especially in America) serves as another goal. Primarily, the course, by developing a better understanding of conflicts, has begun to work towards the methods which will help people to deal more effectively with the conflicts that arise in our daily lives.

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THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENT
(Politics 41)

Jonathon F. Galloway
Fall 1971

Department of Political Science
Lake Forest College
Lake Forest, Illinois

REQUIREMENTS: Readings marked with * and a paper of approximately 25 double-spaced pages. Students should purchase the following books:

The Military Establishment, Adam Yarmolinsky
The Pursuit of Loneliness, P. Slater
The Age of Imperialism, Harry Magdoff

FORMAT: Weekly meetings in the evening of approximately three hours in length. Due to the seminar format, class attendance is required. During the first SIX weeks, we will briefly examine five possible meanings of the military industrial complex, while during the last FOUR weeks students will present the results of their research on particular paper topics.

GRADING: 40 percent on class preparation and participation; 60 percent on paper.

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I. A. The Military-Industrial Complex as American Society in toto.

*Marc Pilisuk and Thomas Hayden, "Is There a Military Industrial Complex which Prevents Peace?" Journal of Social Issues (July 1965). Also in The Bias of Pluralism, ed., William E. Connolly, Ch. 6.

*Philip Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness. Chs. 1-2 et passim.
*Jules Henry, Culture Against Man, Chs, I-2, 4.

I. B. *Adam Yarmolinsky, The Military Establishment, Chs. 1-2, 15, 18-24.
National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex, Weapons for Counterinsurgency.
Lewis Mumford, The Myth of the Machine: The Pentagon of Power.
Urie Bronfenbrenner, Two Worlds of Childhood: U. S. and U. S.S. R.
Herbert Marcuse, One Dimensional Man, pp. 48-55, 90-94.
Samuel P. Huntington, The Soldier and the State.
Harold Lasswell, "The Garrison State Hypothesis Today," in Samuel P. Huntington, ed., Changing Patterns of Military Politics.

Paper Topic Suggestions:

a) Patterns of Violence in American Socialization
b) "Technological Rationality" and the Imperatives of American Society
c) Is There an American National Character or Style?

II. The Military-Industrial Complex as a Giant Bureaucracy of Para-State

*Yarmolinsky, Chs. 3-7.
*Seymour Melman, Pentagon Capitalism, Chs. 1-3, Appendixes A & B, et passim.
de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, vol. 2, Third Book, Chs. XXII-XXVI.
Arnold M. Rose, The Power Structure, Chs. 1,4.
Col. James A. Donovan, Militarism, U. S. A.
Senator William Proxmire, Report from Wasteland.
Richard Barnet, The Economy of Death.
C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite.
H. L. Nieburg, In the Name of Science.
Sen. J. Wm. Fulbright, The Pentagon Propaganda Machine.
Leonard Lewis, Report from Iron Mountain.

Paper Topic Suggestions:

a) Civil-Military Relations Within the Executive Branch
b) Congressional Checks on the Military
c) Are Counterinsurgency Chickens Coming Home to Roost?

III. The Military Industrial Complex as the Balance Wheel of the Domestic Economy

*Roger E. Bolton, ed., Defense and Disarmement, Parts II & III.
Edwin Mansfield, ed., Defense, Science, and Public Policy, pp. 13-39.
*Yarmolinsky, Chs. 16-17.
*John Kenneth Galbraith, The New Industrial State, Ch. XXIX, et passim.
Kenneth E. Boulding, ed., Peace and the War Industry, Intro.
Murray Weidenbaum, The Modern Public Sector.
Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Hearings, Impact of the War in Southeast Asia on the U. S. Economy, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, 1970.

Paper Topic Suggestions:

a) Prospects for Conversion
b) Impact of the War in Southeast Asia on the U. S. Economy

IV. The Military-Industrial Complex as a Necessary Outgrowth of American Capitalism

*Harry Magdoff, The Age of Imperialism.

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Gabriel Kolko, The Roots of American Foreign Policy
Michael Reich and David Finkelhor, "Capitalism and the 'Military-Industrial Complex': The Obstacles to 'Conversion'," The Review of Radical Political Economics, vol. 2, No. 4 (Fall 1970), pp. 1-25.
David Horowitz, ed., Corporations and the Cold War.

Paper Topic Suggestions:

a) Raw Materials and U. S. Foreign Policy
b) Markets Abroad and U. S. Foreign Policy
c) Investments Abroad and U. S. Foreign Policy
d) The International Operations of the Top Defense Contractors
e) Military Aid Programs

V. The Military Industrial Complex as a Rational Response to the Communist Threat

*Bruce M. Russett, What Price Vigilance?, Ch. 1.
*Herbert I. Schiller and Joseph D. Phillips, Super-State: Readings in the Military-Industrial Complex, essays by L. M. Rivers, D. Acheson, B. Goldwater, and R. Nixon.
Michael Parenti, The Anti-Communist Impulse.
John S. Baumgartner, The Lonely Warriors: Case for the Military-Industrial Complex.

Paper Topic Suggestions:

a) A Comparison of the U. S. and U. S. S. R. Military Establishments
b) The "Mad Momentum" of the Arms Race
c) The Origins of the Communist Threat

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THE POLITICS OF PEACEMAKING IN THE UNITED STATES
(Political Science 312)

Alan Geyer
Fall 1972

Department of Peace Studies
Colgate University
Hamilton, New York

A. READING PROGRAM

Each student shall read a minimum of 1000 pages from books of his or her own choice on the reading list. Three short critical commentaries will be due. Each commentary should report on a minimum of 300 pages of reading and should be headed by author, title, and number of pages read. Not more than 1/3 of each commentary should be devoted to summary; the remainder should represent the reader's independent or critical reaction to major problems or issues treated by the author.

B. TERM PROJECT: LOCAL PEACE INVENTORY

Each student shall submit a Local Peace Inventory (LPI): a description and analysis of the interactions between a local community and the international system, with particular focus upon interests and attitudes related to war and peace. The local community may be a village, town, city, county, or congressional district. It may be the student's home community or any other community to which he or she may have personal access during the term. The final form of the project should be a substantial paper of 5,000-10,000 words. It should include a description of the research methodologies employed and appropriate exhibits or appendices.

Students are strongly urged to work together in study teams of 2-4 members each, particularly in the case of a large community. Team LPIs should be submitted as a common project. A team paper by two students should be about 10,000-15,000 words; by three, 15,000-20,000; by four, 20,000-25,000.

The final project shall be submitted in duplicate (either carbon or photocopy) in order that the Peace Studies Program may serve as a depository for community studies.

C. ALTERNATE PROJECT: CAMPAIGN ANALYSIS

If a student is engaged in an election campaign or some other political action program directly related to war/peace issues, he or she may propose a term project on that campaign or program as a substitute for a Local Peace Inventory. An appropriate form for such a project would be an analysis of and reflection upon the action involved--its strategy, methods, and results--also in a substantial paper of 5,000-10,000 words. Such a project should clearly focus on war/peace aspects of the action. It should also demonstrate a familiarit with appropriate readings.

D. A SORT OF IMPRESSIONISTIC ANTICIPATION OF THE POLITICS OF PEACEMAKING IN THE UNITED STATES.

I. Politics for Peace: A Most Peculiar Intellectual Challenge

Two dirty words
The academic disdain for politics
The activist disdain for intellectuals
The domestic/international dichotomy

II. The Peace Arena in Domesticated America

1. National overview:
Domestic foundations of foreign policy
What is the "System"? Who runs it? Where's the "access"? Who has it? Why do Peaceniks take such contradictory views on these questions?
The frustrating indirection of peacemaking
The powerlessness of the powerful
2. Local overview:
State government and foreign policy
Where do all those politicians come from?
A case study: Foreign policy and Onondaga County
Geyer's Local Peace Inventory (LPI)
What does all that foreign stuff have to do with life in Podunk?
3. Cultural and historical perspectives:
Popular and diplomatic styles in peace and war
Is America a peace-loving nation?
Policy moods: consensus and dissensus
Is America still isolationist? Or neo-isolationist?
The elitist-populist debate
Are the people smarter, or stupider, than the foreign policy establishment?
4. Public opinion and foreign policy:
The public, publics, and elites
The measurement of policy attitudes
Are pollsters the enemies of peaceniks?
The resort to "world opinion"

III. Interests and Influence in the Peace Arena

1. Political parties and foreign policy
Are party differences important for war and peace?
Do we need a new party to break with wars and militarism?
2. Economic interests
Defense industries
Do munitions makers make wars?
Banks
Are wars made in Wall Street?
Multinational corporations
Importers and exporters
Protectionist industries
Organized labor
Is labor liberal in world affairs?
Agriculture

3. Media
   Newspapers, magazines, journals of opinion
   Do circulation wars cause world wars?
   Television and radio
   What did T.V. do for the anti-war movement?
   The problem of information: personal intellegence systems
   But how can I find out what's <u>really</u> going on in the world?
4. Education
   Elementary and secondary education
   Higher education
   Is the campus the armory of radical action? The soft under-belly of the liberal establishment?
   Academic professions and foreign policy
5. Religion
   Religious leaders as an "opinion elite"
   Ecclesiastical bureaucracies, lobbies, and assemblies
   What good are all those righteous resolutions?
   Religious conflict and international conflict
   Does the Vatican control American Catholics?
   Are American Jews the agents of Zionist Israel?
6. Racial and ethnic groups
   National origins and foreign policy
   The Black Agenda and the Peace Agenda
   Is the peace movement a honkie ghetto?
7. Other interest groups
   Like women, veterans, and lawyers
   Are women more peaceful than men?
8. Transnational interests
   Do Communists dominate the peace movement?
   Should there be Third World lobbyists in Washington?

IV. The Peace Movement(s)

1. Some historical perspectives
   What's really new about the peace movement?
2. "Dis-interests" and foreign policy
   The continuum between interests and dis-interests
   The marginal influence of constituencies favorable to such concerns as the UN, Third World development, human rights, educational and cultural exchange, disarmament, peace research.
   Who speaks for humanity?
   The reorientation of interests
3. The spectrum of groups and ideologies
   Sources of proliferation: functional, ethnic, geographical, socioeconomic, psychological
   Why don't peacemakers make peace among themselves?
   Consequences of proliferation
   Cohesion, pluralism, and fragmentation
   Orientations to political conflict
   Do battlers for peace avoid the real battles?

V. Peace Action: Case Studies

1. UN Charter campaign
2. Marshall Plan campaign
3. Vietnam War: the antiwar movement

VI. Strategic Implications
   What do we do now?

E. READING LIST

Gabriel Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy. New York: Praeger, 1960.
Thomas A. Bailey, The Man in the Street: The Impact of American Public Opinion on Foreign Policy. New York: Macmillan, 1948.
Max Beloff, Foreign Policy and the Democratic Process. Balt.: Johns Hopkins, 1955.
Peter L. Berger and Richard J.Neuhaus, Movement and Revolution. Garden City: Doubleday (Anchor), 1970.
Denis W. Brogan, The American Character. New York: Vintage, 1956.
John H. Bunzel, Anti-Politics in America. New York: Knopf, 1967.
Douglass Cater, Power in Washington. New York: Vintage, 1964.
Noam Chomsky, American Power and the New Mandarins. New York: Random House (Vintage), 1969.
Bernard C. Cohen, The Press and Foreign Policy. Princeton U. Press, 1963.
Joseph R. Conlin, American Anti-War Movements. Beverly Hills: Glencoe, 1968.
Robert A. Dahl, Congress and Foreign Policy. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950.
G. William Domhoff, Who Rules America? Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967.
James A. Donovan, Militarism, U.S.A. New York: Scribner's, 1970.
Frederick Dutton, Changing Sources of Power: American Politics in the 1970's. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971.
James Finn, Protest: Pacifism and Politics. New York: Random House, 1967.
Joseph Frank (ed.), McCarthy's Campaign: The New Look in Politics. Albuquerque: U. of New Mexico, 1968.
Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans: A Study of Public Opinion. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967.
J. William Fulbright, The Pentagon Propaganda Machine. New York: Random House (Vintage), 1971.
Willard Gaylin, In the Service of Their Country: War Resisters in Prison. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1970.
Alan Geyer, Piety and Politics. Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963.
Alfred O. Hero. Studies in Citizen Participation in International Relations. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1959.
Vol. 1 - Americans in World Affairs
Vol. 4 - Mass Media and World Affairs
Vol. 5 - Voluntary Organizations in World Affairs Communication
Vol. 6 - Opinion Leaders in American Communities
Roger Hilsman, To Move a Nation: The Politics of Foreign Policy in the Administration of John F. Kennedy. Garden City: Doubleday, 1967.
Arnold S. Kaufman, The Radical Liberal: The New Politics, Theory and Practice. New York: Simon and Schuster (Clarion), 1970.
Gabriel Kolko, The Roots of American Foreign Policy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
Ralph Lapp, Arms Beyond Doubt: The Tyranny of Weapons Technology. New York: Cowles, 1970.
Christopher Lasch, The Agony of the American Left. New York: Knopf, 1969.
Sidney Lens, The Miliary-Industrial Complex. Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970.
Walter Lippmann, Essays in the Public Philosophy. New York: New American Library (Mentor), 1956.
Samuel Lubell, The Hidden Crisis in American Politics. New York: Norton, 1970.
Norman Mailer, The Armies of the Night. New York: New American Library (Signet), 1968.

James Michener, Kent State: What Happened and Why. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1971.
C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite. New York: Oxford U. Press, 1956.
Eugene J. McCarthy, The Year of the People. New York: Doubleday, 1969.
Richard Novak, Politics: Realism and Imagination. New York: Herder & Herder, 1971.
Carl Oglesby and Richard Shaull, Containment and Change. New York: Macmillan, 1967.
Thomas G. Paterson (ed.), Cold War Critics: Alternatives to American Foreign Policy in the Truman Years. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971.
_____, "Peace Movements in America", American Studies, (U. of Kansas), Spring, 1972.
H.C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, Opponents of War: 1917-1918. Seattle: U. of Washington Press, 1968.
Robert Pickus and Robert Woito, To End War: Ideas, Books, Organizations, Work that Can Help. New York: Harper, 1970.
Thomas E. Quigley (ed.), American Catholics and Vietnam. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968.
Ronald Radosh, American Labor and United States Foreign Policy. New York: Random House (Vintage), 1970.
James Rosenau (ed.), Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy, New York: Free Press, 1967.
James Rosenau, National Leadership and Foreign Policy: A Case Study in the Mobilization of Public Support. Princeton U. Press, 1963.
James Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy.
Walt W. Rostow, The United States in the World Arena. New York: Harper, 1960.
Jerome H. Skolnick, The Politics of Protest. New York: Ballantine, 1969.
Richard J. Walton, The Remnants of Power: The Tragic Last Years of Adlai Stevenson. New York: Coward-McCann, 1968.
Arthur I. Waskow, The Bush is Burning: Radical Judaism Faces the Pharaohs of the Modern Superstate. New York: Macmillan, 1971.
Arthur I. Waskow, The Worried Man's Guide to World Peace. New York: Doubleday, 1963.
John M. Wells and Maria Wilhelm (eds.), The People vs. Presidential War. New York: Dunellen, 1970.
H. Bradford Westerfield, Foreign Policy and Party Politics: Pearl Harbor to Korea. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955.

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HISTORY OF AMERICAN PACIFISM AND WAR RESISTANCE
(History 260)

Frank Bremer
Summer 1972

Department of History
Thomas More College
Covington, Kentucky

This course will include the broad gamut of war resistance in American History rather than concentrating exclusively on the pacifist witness. The basic structure of the course will be provided by the lectures of the instructor, but due to the nature of the subject matter class discussion will be encouraged and class time frequently allotted for it. In these discussions the emphasis will be philosophical as well as historical: in addition to exploring what the pacifist and anti-war spokesmen said and why (the objective facts), the student will be expected to evaluate the validity of those positions (your subjective reaction).

In the below syllabus you will find indicated a number of required readings from the text, Peter Brock's Pacifism in the United States. The Brock text is the only required book. Due to the unusual expense of the text (unfortunately the only available survey of American peace movements) students are encouraged to seek alternate means of obtaining it (other than individual purchase)--libraries (the TMC library has 2 copies on reserve) or splitting the cost with a fellow student would be two alternatives. In addition to readings from the text, you will occasionally be expected to read 2-3 page mimeographed handouts. There will be some type of student project, the exact nature of which will depend on class size and which will be announced within the first two weeks of class.

I. PACIFISM IN THE CHRISTIAN WORLD TO 1607

In this class we will quickly survey the origins and development of pacifist thought and attitudes towards war in Christian Europe prior to British settlement in North America. Included will be a survey of the attitude taken towards war by the Cathqlic Church (especially the establishment of the distinction between just and unjust warfare). Finally, preparatory to our treatment of early American peace sects, we will examine the attitudes towards war taken by the Protestant reformers of the 16th and 17th centuries.
Required Reading: None. Bibliography: Beales, A.C.F., The History of Peace.

II. COLONIAL AMERICA -- THE QUAKERS

Throughout the course of American history the most consistent and effective pacifist witness has been that of the Society of Friends. In this class we shall examine the basic religious philosophy of the Friends and the pacifist testimony that springs from it. Emphasis will be on the concept of the inner light, Quakerism as a religion of action rather than dogma, belief in the goodness and equality of man. Attention will then be shifted from the theory of Friends to

the practical results of their views. The problem of the Quaker government in time of war will be studied through an examination of Quaker rule in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania during the colonial period

Required Reading: Brock, 1-158.

Bibliography:

Barksdale, Brent, Pacifism and Democracy in Colonial Pennsylvania.
Braithwaite, William C., The Second Period of Quakerism.
Bronner, Edwin, William Penn's "Holy Experiment".
Dunn, Mary, William Penn, Politics and Conscience.
Jones, Rufus, Quakers in the American Colonies.
Peare, Catherine Owen, William Penn.
Sharpless, Isaac, A Quaker Experiment in Government.
Tolles, Frederick, Quakers and the Atlantic Culture.
Tolles, Frederick, From Meetinghouse to Countinghouse.
West, Jessamyn, ed., The Quaker Reader.
Woolman, John, Journal.

III. COLONIAL AMERICA -- GERMAN SECTARIES

During the late 17th and early 18th centuries local conditions in Germany led many of the smaller religious sects of that ill-defined state to migrate to the New World. A number of these groups--Moravians, Mennonites, and Dunkers, for example--brought with them strong pacifist beliefs. Some of these groups went further than the Quakers in that they rejected all connection with the state. Others were more moderate and avoided only direct personal participation in military affairs.

Required Reading: Brock, 159-182.

Bibliography:

Bowman, Rufus, The Church of the Brethren and War.
Gollin, Moravians in Two Worlds.
Harder, Leland and Marvin, Plockhoy from Zurik-see.
Sachse, Julius, The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania.
Weaver, Glenn, The Schwenkfelders during the French and Indian Wars.

IV. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The American War for Independence was once described by John Adams as a war in which one-third of the populace supported the revolt, one-third supported the King, and one-third sat on the fence. Many of those who sat on the fence did so as a result of religious scruples. We shall look at the roots of, nature of, and reaction to Quaker pacifism and that of the other sects. But we will also view the position of those whose loyalism was prompted by disagreement over the right of revolution.

Required Reading: Brock, 183-284.

Bibliography:

Brookes, George, Friend Anthony Benezet.
James, Sydney V., A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth Century America.
Melcher, Marguerite, The Shaker Adventure.
Nelson, William H., Loyalists in the American Revolution.
Sharpless, Isaac, The Quakers in the Revolution.

V. THE WAR OF 1812

Probably one of the two or three most unpopular wars in American history, the War of 1812 was the first major struggle in which Americans openly opposed their national government--virtually all New England was against the war and the policies that precipitated it. We shall examine the source of that opposition (pacifist and non-pacifist) and the means utilized to demonstrate that dissent.
Required Reading: None.
Bibliography:

Banner, James, To the Hartford Convention.
Morrison, Samuel Eliot, Harrison Gray Otis, The Urbane Federalist.
Morrison, Samuel Eliot; Merk, Frederick; and Friedel, Frank, Dissent in Three American Wars, Part One.

VI. PACIFISM AND THE REFORM SPIRIT OF THE 1830's

The 1830's and 40s were decades of tremendous ferment in American life. During that period temperence, prison reform, feminism, and abolitionism all came to prominence for the first time in our history. It was also a period of great social experimentation marked by the establishment of utopian communities such as Brook Farm, Oneida, and New Harmony. During those years there developed in America--alongside of but separate from the peace sects--the first nonsectarian peace organizations. We shall study the Enlightenment roots of these groups, compare them to the peace sects, and analyze the relationship between secular pacifism and the other reform impulses.
Required Reading: Brock, 449-688.
Bibliography:

Bestor, Arthur, Backwoods Utopias.
Curti, Merle, The American Peace Crusade.
Galpin, W. Freeman, Pioneering for Peace.
Grifin, C. S., The Ferment of Reform.
Holloway, Mark, Heavens on Earth.
Phelps, Christina, The Anglo-American Peace Movement.
Taylor, Alice Felt, Freedom's Ferment.

VII. THE MEXICAN WAR

The war against Mexico--one of the obviously imperialistic wars in our past--aroused strong opposition in the North that included Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln, Henry David Thoreau and James Russell Lowell. President Polk was accused of having tricked the Congress into a declaration of war and dissident Congressmen attempted to cut off military appropriations.
Required Reading: None
Bibliography:

Duberman, Martin, James Russell Lowell.
Huggard, William, Emerson and the Problem of War and Peace.
Merk, Frederick, Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History.
Morrison, Merk, and Friedel, Dissent in Three American Wars, Part Two.
Thoreau, Henry David, "Civil Disobedience."

VIII. THE CIVIL WAR AND AMERICAN PACIFISTS

The Civil War provided one of the most severe tests ever faced by American pacifists--both sectarian and secular--in that it was seen by many as a war to free the slave. The Quakers had an opposition to slavery almost as old as their opposition to war. Most of the

more radical members of secular peace societies were also abolitionists. Thus the war presented both groups with the dilemma of an undesirable means of achieving a desirable end.
Required Reading: Brock, 689-868.
Bibliography:

Donald, David, Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War.
Donald, David, Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man.
Horst, Samuel, Mennonites in the Confederacy: A Study in Civil War Pacifism.
Kraditor, Aileen, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism.
Lerna, Gerda, The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina.
Mabee, Carleton, Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists from 1830 through the Civil War.
Wegenknecht, Edward, John Greenleaf Whittier.
Wright, Edward, Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War.

IX. THE SPANISH AMERICAN WAR

Like the Mexican War, our struggle against Spain was branded by many prominent Americans as an imperialist adventure, especially following the peace, when we struggled to suppress the insurrectionists in the Philippines whom we had supported during the conflict.
Required Reading: None.
Bibliography:

Beisner, R. L., Twelve Against Empire: The Anti-Imperialists.
Coletta, Paola, William Jennings Bryan, Volume One.
Morrison, Merk, and Friedel, Dissent in Three American Wars, part 3.
Wolff, Leon, Little Brown Brother: How the United States Purchased and Pacified the Philippines.

X. WORLD WAR I

Like the Civil War, World War I was a conflict depicted as one waged for humanitarian reasons. Groups such as the Quakers resisted the war spirit firmly, but others were won over by the dream of a "war to end all wars."
Required Reading: Brock, 869-conclusion.
Bibliography:

Brock, Peter, Pacifism in the Twentieth Century.
Curti, Merle, Bryan and World Peace.
Farrell, John C., Beloved Lady: A History of Jane Addams' Ideas on Reform and Peace.
Peterson, Horace C., and Fite, Gilbert, Opponents of War, 1917-1918.
Preston, William, Aliens and Dissenters.

XI. WORLD WAR II

World War I saw the beginning of real government attempts to restrict anti-war dissent during periods of conflict. In World War II those who bore a peace witness were forced to face even greater governmental opposition and--equally significant--concerted public opposition to their views.
Required Reading: None.
Bibliography:

There is a good deal of work now being conducted on the pacifist movement in WWII, but little has yet been published. I shall try to supply you with a list of readings at a later date.

XII. AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

We are all familiar with the agony that has been the lot of all America as a result of our involvement in Viet Nam. Of special interest among the aspects of the war which we will touch upon is the rise of war resistance in American Catholicism--which had traditionally been in the forefront of those institutions supporting governmental policies in wartime.

Required Reading: None

Bibliography:

If there is a dearth of information on war resistance in WWII, there is a superabundance of literature on the Viet Nam conflict, and any selection would be inadequate. Works of exceptional value will be dealth with in the course of the lectures.

XIII. EVALUATION

At the end of the semester time will be set aside for the purpose of bringing together any loose ends and evaluating the meaning of the historic pacifist witness for our times.

General Bibliography:

Bowman, Rufus, The Church of the Brethren and War, 1708-1941.
Curti, Merle, Peace or War: The American Struggle, 1636-1936.
Hemleben, Sylvester, Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries.
Hurst, Margaret, The Quakers in Peace and War.
Gara, Larry. War Resistance in Historical Perspective.
Schlissel, Lillian D., ed., Conscience in America: A Documentary History of Conscientious Objection in America, 1757-1967.